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WILLIAM F. MOULTON

A MEMOIR

BY

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON

WITH A CHAPTER ON BIBLICAL WORK AND OPINIONS

BY

JAMES HOPE MOULTON

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To Our Mother

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PREFATORY NOTE

Only a few words are needed to explain the respective shares of my brother and myself in this volume. He contributes the whole of Chapter V. dealing with Dr. Moulton's Biblical work and certain of his opinions; and here and there are paragraphs which he has added. For the scheme of the book and for the remainder of its contents he has incurred no responsibility, beyond the point of having read it in manuscript and proof.

Those who have assisted, by the loan of letters and in other ways, are far too numerous to mention by name, and I must take this opportunity of thanking them together for having thus made this volume possible. My special thanks are due to the Bishop of Durham; to the Rev. G. G. Findlay, of Headingley College; to Mrs. Milligan; to Mrs. Hort; to my late colleagues at The Leys, Mr. E. E. Kellett and Mr. St. J. B. Wynne-Willson—now of Rugby—for numerous suggestions; and, above all, to my valued friend the Rev. W. Blackburn FitzGerald, who, amid

the stress of an exceptionally busy life, read most of the book in manuscript and all of it in proof, and to whose taste and care it must be ascribed that there are not more faults in its execution.

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON.

Headingley: August 1899.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS AND INFLUENCES

It was in the minister's house in Leek, Staffordshire, that William Fiddian Moulton was born on March 14, 1835, his father, the Rev. James Egan Moulton, having been appointed to that Circuit at the London Conference of 1833. He came of a stock which in all its branches had been thoroughly permeated with the evangelical fervour of the Wesleyan movement, and he entered this world not only a child of the manse but a hereditary Methodist, bound to his Church by innumerable hallowed associations in the lives of those who had been before him.

The family history may be said to commence with John Bakewell, an intimate friend of Mr. Wesley, and well known to the Churches of all lands as the author of the hymn, "Hail, Thou once despised Jesus!" He preached for seventy-five years, beginning as an evangelist in Derbyshire, his native county, in 1744, five years before he became associated with the Wesleys. A few years later he moved to Greenwich, where he opened a school, and in this he was greatly assisted by his clever daughter, Maria, who had a remarkable knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. One of his assistant masters was a Mr. James Egan, of Limerick, afterwards LL.D. of Dublin, and recipient of the gold medal of a learned society for a dissertation

upon the best method of teaching Greek. This association of Maria Bakewell and James Egan in educational work, behind which lay a strong similarity of taste and talent, ripened as might be expected into affection, and they became engaged. Very shortly after this took place Mr. John Wesley, who was a frequent visitor at Mr. Bakewell's house, said to him, "Let the young people marry; hand the school over to them, and go thou and preach the Gospel." Mr. Wesley's word was law in those days, and what he advised—or rather commanded—was done. John Bakewell gave himself up to preaching, and James Egan and Maria Bakewell were married.

It is a loss to the Church that no memorial has been preserved of John Bakewell, "a long-tried, exemplary and laborious servant of God"; for, from his having been acquainted with, and in a measure mixed up with Methodism almost from its very commencement, much that is interesting might have been detailed. His modesty, however, prevented him from preserving any account of the events of his life, and he was unwilling that any one else should record them.

"His granddaughter occasionally attempted to draw from him a few particulars, but when he perceived that her object was to commit them to writing he stopped and became less communicative, and on his dying bed he extorted a promise from my father, whom he had appointed his executor, that nothing should be said respecting him after his death. He died in March 1819, aged ninety-eight, retaining all his faculties to the very last."*

The Egans lived to bring up a large family, but of these only two need be mentioned here. One of the daughters married the Rev. William Moulton (the grandfather of the

* "Memoir of the Rev. William Moulton," by his son, Rev. James Egan Moulton, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, Nov. 1837.

future Headmaster of The Leys School), who was a frequent visitor to the Egans' house owing to Greenwich being then one of the preaching places "in the London circuit." Another daughter, who remained unmarried, settled in Worcester and opened there a preparatory school for boys, whither at the age of eight, or less, William Fiddian Moulton went to receive his first initiation into scholarship at the hands of his great-aunt. She was a woman of great mental activity and width of reading, and an excellent classical scholar, whilst her physical vitality must have been extraordinary, for she lived on into her hundredth year, only passing away four or five years ago, in spite of having, at the age of eighty, fallen downstairs and broken her thigh, an accident which permanently crippled her. As was the case with her grandfather, she retained her faculties to the last.

The Rev. William Moulton, who married the elder Miss Egan, was not a Methodist by descent. His parents were firmly attached to the Church of England, and did not regard with favour young William's strong disposition to join the Wesleyan Society, his father telling him curtly that he would change his mind very soon, and then his parents would be ashamed "to have a son that was a turn-coat." But Robert Moulton, for all his real goodness and strict uprightness, was here face to face with a phenomenon which he had not the requisite perception to understand. Living in the cold respectability of the Established Church of the eighteenth century, he was one of those many godly men who looked with disfavour and distrust upon the violent cataclysms which accompanied the preaching of the Wesleys and their associates, and who had not learned the nature and the obligation of the New Birth. William Moulton was not the victim of a whim or a mere well-meaning emotion. He had casually entered a Methodist chapel, and what he

heard there came home to him with such force that he went frequently. On one occasion Mr. George Walker—a man who was thought very highly of among the Methodists of the later decades of the last century—was preaching, and young Moulton was so much impressed that, on learning that Mr. Walker was a class-leader among the Methodists, he then and there formed the resolution to join his class. Whilst under the spiritual care of this good man, he was led to see more clearly his need of salvation, and after a few months, during the Watch-night service of 1786, he entered into the "liberty of the children of God." On the death of the leader of the class, William Moulton was asked to take his place, a strong testimony to his stability of character and judgment in speaking of the things of God, for it was a most unusual thing in those days to appoint as leader one so young. But the choice was fully justified by events: in time he had the joy of welcoming to his class his father and mother, who at first had been pained and perplexed by his departure from the Church of England, but had afterwards seen in it the leading of the Spirit of God. This position he continued to occupy till 1794, and only left it to enter upon the work of the ministry to which he felt himself called.

In 1801 he was appointed to City Road, London, and had for one year the high privilege—for he always spoke of it as such—of living in the same house with the Rev. Joseph Benson, who was then the Superintendent of the Circuit; and the influence of that intercourse contributed greatly to the enrichment of his ministry. It was largely instrumental in maturing his ideas and developing the same insight into Scripture which characterised his son, James Egan, and in a higher degree his grandson, William Fiddian. It was often his lot to preach in the presence of that master of exposition, and at first he came to those appointments in fear and

trembling, but he subsequently found out what thousands of young preachers have found out since his time, that it is the truly small, not the truly great, who are to be feared as critics. Mr. Benson's comments, so far from being a terror to his young colleague, became an inspiration, for it was all so kindly done that adverse criticism lost its power to depress, and words of commendation, coming from such a quarter, were an unspeakable source of encouragement.

Very many of the Rev. William Moulton's characteristics reappeared later in his grandson. He was pre-eminently a man of peace, and he was unceasingly thankful that in no Circuit in which he laboured had he been so unhappy as to witness a division in the Society. But this love of peace did not result, as often it does, in weakness and indecision: on the contrary, he seems to have been a man of great firmness and determination of conduct. In the execution of what he regarded as his duty he was inflexible, and manifested a sublime disregard for unpleasant consequences. His firmness and palpable sincerity won for him the respect even of those who differed from him; while on his side he contributed a disposition to make allowances for those whose intentions were good, even when their actions were indefensible, and also a wondrously forgiving spirit whereby he disarmed and converted into friends persons who under slightly different treatment would have been made into determined opponents. Another notable characteristic, which will also re-appear over and over again in this volume as manifested in his grandson, was his truly catholic spirit. He had the gift of uniting with a firm allegiance to his own Church a close attachment to those whose opinions upon ecclesiastical matters widely differed from his own; and such was his freedom from narrow contentiousness that during his residence at Grantham the vicar of Welby, in that neighbourhood, would accompany

him frequently when he went to preach in the villages around, and the friendship thus generated lasted long after his removal from the Circuit. At Leicester he was intimate with Robert Hall, who used to speak to him in terms of high estimation concerning many features of the Methodist system—a disposition which was far rarer then than now.

William Moulton's family was large enough to tax the resources of any minister, especially in times when the financial position of the ministry was lower than it is to-day; and the fact that Mrs. Moulton reared a large family so well upon so little is a powerful testimony to her capacity and patience. There were fifteen children born to them, though three died in early childhood, and three more before they grew up. But it will be easily understood that for the remaining nine there would be little in the way of the luxuries of life, and what they were to be in the future would, they knew, depend upon their own endeavour: their father would have nothing to bequeath to them beyond an honoured name and a perfect example. William, the eldest child, was a lad of extraordinary promise, and tales concerning his gifts lived on for years at Woodhouse Grove School, of which he was head-boy. He however died at sixteen.

James Egan Moulton, the father of William Fiddian Moulton, went to Old Kingswood School—Wesley's foundation for the sons of preachers—at eight years of age. He stayed there for seven years, having received the "extra year" for his attainments and good behaviour—fourteen being the normal limit of age. In the recently published "History of Kingswood School" his name appears first in the first prize list of the school. He then stayed for another seven years as a master—(a master at fifteen!)—until he left the school to enter the ministry, whither he was shortly followed by the two brothers next to him in age—John Bakewell and Ebenezer. The former died

of influenza only seven years after he entered upon the work: he was a brilliant preacher of the evangelistic type, and early wore himself out by his ceaseless labours. But the latter continued in active service almost up to the time of his death in 1885. "He was firm in Methodist doctrine and polity: was meek, gentle, loving and unselfish. His mind was well stored, and his preaching was impressive, instructive and edifying. He greatly excelled as a pastor, and won the hearts of the people of his charge." * James Egan Moulton, to judge from all accounts, was a great favourite among the boys, and must have had the gift—which afterwards was conspicuously manifest in his son—of making his teaching interesting: indeed a late Governor of the school used to assert that in his time it was said that the boys "would rather do sums with Mr. Moulton than play," which, if true, points to a woeful course of degeneration in the species since that day.

But whether or not his power of imparting knowledge reached that almost unthinkable height, he was certainly a great student, remarkable both for the thoroughness of his knowledge and for its extraordinary breadth. He was a mathematician above the average; he had an extensive knowledge of Greek and Latin authors, and he "could read Hebrew like a Jew." There still remains in the memory of his eldest surviving son † the vivid recollection of seeing his father do three things at the same time.

"One day, while he was Chairman of the Northampton District, he was making up his schedules; at the same time he was reading a Latin author with Richard,‡ and a Greek author with John.‖

* "Minutes of Conference," 1885.

† Rev. Dr. James Egan Moulton, Principal of Newington College, Sydney, N.S.W.; Ex-President New South Wales Conference.

‡ Dr. R. G. Moulton, Professor of Literature in English, Chicago, U.S.A.

‖ J. Fletcher Moulton, Q.C., F.R.S., M.P.

Now he would be adding up a column, muttering 'I must write to that brother,' and in the next breath: 'Get on, John, what are you stopping for?'—'Can't find a nominative case, papa!'—'Look about three lines down, so and so.'—'Oh, yes!' and John would construe. Then it was Richard's turn, and at every sign of hesitation his father would suggest the missing adjective or verb, or whatever it might be. All the while the adding up of columns was going on, and the muttered praises or objurgations on the brethren."

In face of such testimony to the orderliness of his mind it is not surprising to learn from Dr. Benjamin Gregory, who knew him well, that quite early in his ministerial life he acquired the title of "Arrangement Moulton" because of his instinct for order and administration. Nor will those who knew the inner life at the Leys School fail to see that this gift with many others passed from the father to the son.

In the case of the Moulton family there seemed but one natural field for the exercise of such talents. Not that other vocations in life were under-rated in the matter of their capacity for Christian service, but it seemed so natural to offer the best to the Lord if by an inward call He signified His willingness to accept the offering. James Egan Moulton entered the ministry in 1828, and remained in Circuit work until, in 1864, he was obliged to retire, worn out by service. He settled in Cambridge, where he died in June 1866. Dr. Gregory said of him:

"His cheerfulness was radiant, and most healthfully catching; and being broadly built and blessed with a steady flow of spirits, he seemed likely to enjoy a long and energetic ministerial career. . . . He was a thorough Methodist preacher, lively, spiritual, energetic, indefatigable. . . . He was one of the very few men who have had much to do with tutorship who betrayed nothing of the pedagogue in after life."

So it was that in this home the sons grew up to see in

religion an all-pervading, illuminating, gladdening influence, and to find in the Methodist ministry a vocation of which no man had need to be ashamed, second to none for its opportunities of doing and receiving good.

But no consideration of the formative influences in the life of William Fiddian Moulton would be complete without reference to his mother, Catharine Fiddian, daughter of Mr. William Fiddian, a brass-founder in Birmingham. Her father was Circuit Steward, and consequently saw a great deal of the Methodist preachers, especially the younger ones, who would usually stay at their house. Whether it was of the men themselves that she formed a bad opinion—it could hardly be that—or whether it was the laborious lives they had to lead, at any rate she was often heard to say that she "would never marry a Methodist preacher—NEVER!" But in spite of all these brave words, when James Egan Moulton came to the house her woman's heart capitulated. They formed a remarkable pair; for, great as were his attainments and intellectual powers, she was quite his equal, though her gifts had the distinctive colouring of a woman's nature. She had a fine mind, and great powers of conversation, when she chose to use them, but she was a thorough woman according to the ideal of fifty years ago. She went as near to worshipping her husband as so saintly a woman could go, and her tender love for her children, her considerateness, her strong, wise counsel, left an absolutely indelible impression upon the minds and hearts of those who knew her best.

But it was not so much her intellectual as her moral gifts which made her what she was to her children. The consciousness that with this intellectuality there were associated strong living sympathy and a passion for godliness made the relations between them peculiarly close and tender, and made

her an ideal counsellor in times of trouble and perplexity. The following extract from a letter written to her husband after her death by her brother, the Rev. Samuel Fiddian, embodies the main features of her character :

"From the first she manifested unwavering decision and spirit of activity in the service of her Lord. Her energy of mind in pursuing such labours of love as were opened to her by the providence and Church of God often disturbed her health. Her spirit, always ardent, found a genial atmosphere in the service of Christ and the Church, too stimulating perhaps for the mortal frame. Her sympathy was lively and large. A large-hearted sympathy I consider one of her prominent features, and one which gave her great influence for good. In those days she was punctual in the use of the means of grace, public and private. Distance, weather, engagements, would not hinder her from her attendance at the class meeting, the preaching of the Word, &c. From the character of her home and her early piety, all her views and habits were formed according to the Word of God. For twenty-nine years we have been separated, with but few opportunities of personal intercourse, and a very scanty correspondence (through the numerous and weighty engagements of both parties), but that correspondence has always been such as feeds piety, and tends to prepare for that world of glory in which she is now found."

But if the relations between the mother and all the children were close and tender, between her and her eldest son William there was an especially close tie. She leaned on him in everything, while at the same time he was ever looking up to her for guidance. One of the most characteristic of her letters was written to him within three hours of her death in September 1855—for the mother died with almost the same tragic suddenness as the son. It reveals a woman of an essentially spiritual mind, and although she had an undisguised dread of sudden death, she was undoubtedly ready for the great change whenever it should come.

"GUERNSEY, *Sept.* 2, 1855.

"MY VERY DEAR WILLIAM,—It would afford me much pleasure if I could just now enjoy some spiritual converse with you, being deprived of public ordinances through indisposition of body; but as this cannot be done I write to beg you will pray more frequently for me, and, if time and other duties will permit, you will write to me and say something that shall tend to my spiritual profit. The older I grow the more I feel that there is nothing worth a thought beneath but how I might escape the death that never dies. And yet I was never more occupied in the discharge of lawful duties than at the present time. Do you try to join me at the throne of grace, the first thing after dinner, for the spiritual welfare of our family. You are our eldest, and we look to you for help and counsel in reference to our dear children, and I am quite sure you do help us to carry our burden. May the Lord reward you for this labour of love.

"Papa was five weeks at Conference in consequence of his being made chairman of the district: business required it. Since his return he has had so many extra duties to attend to that letter-writing has been out of the question. It would have cheered you to have seen how well he looked. A. has been my nurse, as you will perceive by the enclosed letters that aunt is in England. I was poorly before she went, but we hoped it would pass off in a few days, but this has not been the case, though we hope I shall now soon be better. Do not say anything to aunt about it if you should write.

"O my dear William, whatever else you neglect let God be *sought* and *loved*. May you and I be more determined to let religion be our first aim. There are many young people that are seeking the Lord; O may they be faithful. I perceive in reading and conversing in reference to the cause of God that one of the greatest stumbling-blocks in the way of our salvation is 'pride.' To possess a *humble mind* is of the greatest advantage to the Christian. May you and I follow on to know the Lord. I want a *stronger faith*. Do unite with me where this inestimable blessing may be possessed. Papa joins with me in much love and

"Believe me to be, your own dear mamma,

"C. MOULTON."

Cast very much in the same mould was her brother Samuel, mentioned above. For fifty-four years a Wesleyan minister, he was highly prized as a friend and counsellor, and when he died in 1880 it was left on record concerning him that "in times of strife he was very useful in preventing mischief and in healing wounded spirits." His three sons, Samuel, William and James—the two last of whom occupied high positions in the Indian Civil Service—were marked throughout their Cambridge University career, and subsequently, by their strong and unswerving loyalty to the Church of their fathers.

The boyhood of William Fiddian Moulton was, so far as one can judge from the scanty records of it, in great measure unlike that of most young lads. I should have said totally unlike, were it not for a story which the Rev. N. Curnock, the Editor of the *Methodist Recorder*, tells concerning that period. Mr. Curnock's father followed the Rev. J. E. Moulton in the Wednesbury Circuit, and on their arrival the Circuit Stewards apologised to Mrs. Curnock for the condition in which they feared she would find the crockeryware of the house. The previous minister, they said, had a little boy—he could then have been only three or four years old—who had a mischievous habit of smashing the crockery. It would appear that the boy thus worked off his allotted portion of original sin before he went to school. At any rate, if the reminiscences of those who knew him during his school-days are to be trusted, he seems to have given the impression of being a portentously serious young person. He showed from the first a passion for study such as rarely embarrasses preceptors in these days, and the pleasures of crockery-smashing gave place to the more constructive delights of reading and music. Unlike other boys of his age he took no interest in

sports, so far as practical participation was concerned, and while other boys were in the playground enjoying themselves in their way, he would be deriving his delight poring over some solid volume in a retired nook. From all that he used to say in later years it is safe to infer, however, that this total abstinence from games was not of choice but of necessity, for his sight—though good—was so short that from the age of eleven he was compelled to wear glasses. He was wont to regret bitterly, in conversation with his boys at Cambridge, that his deficiencies in the matter of eyesight had prevented his ever playing cricket, for that was a game for which he was wont to show at all times the greatest enthusiasm. This abstention from games, combined with an increasing eagerness in acquiring knowledge, marked him off from other boys both at school and at home. Not that he was unloving or unsympathetic in the home; far from it; but his disposition and tastes were those of one who was mature, rather than of a schoolboy, and all his brothers and sisters were accustomed to class him not with themselves—although the differences of age were not conspicuously great—but with their father and mother. One day they came to their aunt Sarah with the piteous appeal, "Wasn't William *ever* naughty? It would make us feel so much nearer to him if he had been naughty like us." After thinking for a long time she said, "Yes: he once flew into a violent passion!" Horrible thought, that a violent passion should be welcomed as a sign of grace! Still, there is no denying that it was so, for it seemed to bring their brother within, just within, their own world.

At the early age usual in those Spartan days he went to Woodhouse Grove School, near Leeds, one of the two branches of the institution founded by John Wesley for the

education of his preachers' sons. The rigours of school life in those days may be well seen in some of the following reminiscences which forty years later he supplied for Mr. J. T. Slugg's memorials of the School, after the concentration of the whole foundation at Bath. It may be observed before giving these quotations that he was a very delicate little boy, "hardly expected to live to manhood" and suffering greatly from asthma. On one occasion he was so ill that his father was sent for as "he was believed to be dying." Happily, on his arrival he found the invalid in the playground. With such a constitution, however, one almost wonders that the boy survived some of the experiences described below. Dr. Moulton says:

"The first and most painful incident in my Grove life was the death of four of my schoolfellows, three from brain fever and one from typhus. I have no doubt that the small ill-ventilated dormitories of that time were responsible for this terrible mortality. The food supplied to us (1846 to 1850) was homely but generally wholesome. Our greatest hardship was being compelled to eat puddings which had been 'turned' during thundery weather. The badly cooked rice, which was our substitute for potatoes during the Irish famine of '48, was another grievance."

Another old Grove boy describes the rice as "either boiled very dry and then anointed with a thin unguent composed of treacle and warm water, or else baked in huge black tins, in which it looked as if it had been trodden under foot of men. Breakfast consisted of a thick slice of dry bread and about half a pint of skimmed milk, occasionally sour, and sometimes slightly warmed in winter. Supper was an exact repetition of breakfast. Butter, tea and coffee we never saw."

"I am often struck with the remembrance of our isolation from the world in which the stirring events of that time were happening. A newspaper seldom reached us, and the French Revolution was little more than a rumour. I do remember that the cholera panic of '49 extended to us, even in the absence of newspapers, and a grim memory it is."

On the subject of holidays and the management of the clothes and pocket-money, Dr. Moulton says:

"Our holidays were certainly few and far between. One whole holiday in the year, signalised by an excursion into the country to the Chevin, was about the only opportunity we had of seeing anything outside the school premises. Our mode of obtaining a half-holiday was peculiar. We formed a ring in the playground, holding hands and singing the National Anthem. If, after waiting some time, the Governor did not come out, attracted by our singing, we sent a deputation to him with our request. He would then come out and say he would talk it over with the Headmaster, which we knew meant a favourable answer. On Saturday afternoons, at what was called 'court,' the pocket-money was given out, nominally three halfpence per week. The amount was reduced to a penny by a tax levied for the Missionary Society. Besides this, the Missionary collector came round to extract *voluntary* (!) subscriptions. Then there were fines to pay, and we were expected to give something in class. At the same time, the Governor, who took all our loose cash into his hands when we came to school, told us we ought never to be without sixpence in our pockets! Another comic reminiscence is of the way in which our wardrobe was provided. An important functionary living on the premises was the tailor, who had our cloth clothes in his charge. When an accident in the playground made

repairs necessary, we had to apply to him—Greenwood was his name—for an exchange of garments. The fit and quality of the substitute depended very much on Greenwood's partiality for the applicant, and boys were therefore anxious to be on good terms with him. He had a thirst for knowledge, and I was fortunate enough to win his favour and a good fit by teaching him a little Hebrew."

"Of the Circuit and local preachers of that time," Dr. Moulton says, "I have a lively remembrance: of good Mr. S. who proved that the Church meant a company of believers, and not a building, by quoting that 'the Church fell on Paul's neck and kissed him,' gravely adding that he would not have liked a steeple to fall on his neck! Of another who, anxious to obtain an influence over the boys, began by inviting them to tea, but soon gave it up because they ate so much! Of a local preacher who often impressed upon us that 'every tub must stand on its own bottom,' which the Headmaster would translate, with a view to further emphasising, into 'every cask must rest on its own foundation.' For a short time we were happy enough to have in the Circuit James H. Rigg, who used to delight us with his graphic expositions of the parables and miracles; but he was considered by the authorities far too good for *us*, and, to our great disgust, he was soon removed to what was considered a more important sphere! The Headmaster during my residence at the Grove was Mr. Grear, who had also been my father's Headmaster at Kingswood. He was a good classic within a moderate range—knew next to no composition, though good at translation—and was weak in mathematics. It is true, as you heard, that my father kept me supplied with mathematical work from home. Of the other masters I remember especially Mr. Joseph Frankland (afterwards in our ministry), a very fine man whom I greatly respected;

when I entered the school he it was who first infected me with his own great enthusiasm for the Greek Testament. He was, in all his work, an admirable teacher. The first sixpence I ever earned was when Mr. Frankland offered that reward (as much as six weeks' pocket-money!) to any boy who could give the derivation of the Latin word *exulto*. This reminds me of a reward that was offered, but not given. The Rev. Charles Prest offered a prize for the best analysis of the Third Catechism. One or two of us got it up very carefully, but by that time Mr. Prest had forgotten all about it!"

It is needless to say that he did well at Woodhouse Grove and rose to the top of the school before he left it at the age of fifteen. But according to Judge Waddy, whose close acquaintance with him dates from this early period, when he left Woodhouse Grove for Wesley College, Sheffield, he was a boy possessed of an infinite capacity for taking pains, rather than of startling talents, and he certainly was not the prodigy which his father's brother William had been. But from first to last thoroughness was always more characteristic of him than brilliance, and perhaps it is not unreasonable to believe that if he had been a prodigy at school he would not have been in after years the sound and accurate scholar he became. In 1850 he went to Wesley College, then under the rule of the Rev. Dr. Waddy, the distinguished father of His Honour Judge Waddy, and his three years there were eventful for him in every way. At first he was a pupil, and it was from Wesley College that he matriculated—sixth in Honours—at London University. Some have been surprised to find that he failed to reach the highest place, which was reached later by his brothers John and Richard, but it must be remembered that in the interval which separated his

matriculation from theirs the opportunities of good schooling open to sons of ministers underwent considerable changes for the better. Probably Wesley College was at that time better staffed than any other school that was open to them, but Dr. Moulton often told in later years how he had been compelled to store up his difficulties in mathematics until the outside examiner, who came once a year, should arrive to solve them for him. Of course at this time he was disposed to specialise in mathematics, and the difficulties would be very far from being ordinary schoolboy difficulties, but it points to his having pursued his studies under disadvantages which did not exist to embarrass his younger brothers. What continued to astonish all those who came in contact with him was his voracity in the matter of knowledge. Nothing seemed to lie altogether outside his acquaintance: Hebrew, chemistry, practical mechanics, and music — theoretical and practical—were his favourite studies, but very far from being his only ones. His love for music was a life-long characteristic. When home from school at the age of ten he was full of musical enthusiasm, and would often be found singing to an accompaniment on a make-believe organ constructed with books on a table, pianos being not so commonly found in the houses of Methodist preachers then as they are now. At thirteen he was a fair player on the organ: at Wesley College he was the regular organist, and right through life the sound of an organ was a pleasure to him.

But the event of events for him during his Wesley College life was his conversion. Some of those who watched the quiet, studious, upright lad might think that no radical change was needed there, but that was very far from being his own estimate of himself and his needs. "I have sinned against the clearest light," he moaned to his friend S. D. Waddy, the

Governor's son, who was at his side trying to lead him to the Saviour. Such outbursts of penitence and self-abasement can surprise no one who has watched or thought upon these matters. They are the gracious penalty incident upon a high ideal of holiness, and how gracious they are only God's saints can fully know. While the crowd scoffs at these expressions as unreal, while weaker disciples look upon them with wonder and longing, God's best and most beloved children will continue to tell us that such moments of self-abasement are those which herald the brightest days.

It was so with W. F. Moulton. Such a seeker could not fail to find, and what he found, after two years of seeking, was a light which transfigured everything, duties and pleasures, present and future.

"It was that which gave a purpose to everything he afterwards did—point to his studies, strength to his mind, and, above all, that concentration of thought, purpose and energy which was seen throughout his subsequent career. His mental training became a very different one from that which was apparently mapped out for him by his own inclination and ambition." *

He left Wesley College in 1853 to take a mastership in a private school in Devonport, whence after one year he went as Mathematical Master to Queen's College, Taunton, where he stayed until he entered the ministry.

His life at Taunton served as a fine apprenticeship to the life of unremitting toil which was to come. For to master as to boy school-life forty years ago lacked most of the influences and circumstances which make it so attractive to the one and so joyous to the other to-day, and Mr. Moulton's life at Taunton was only typical of what hundreds of young men were going through at the same time. The teaching hours were

* Judge Waddy at City Road, March 21, 1898.

from 6.30 to 7.30, 9.0 to 12.30 (with an interval of a quarter of an hour at 11.0) and from 2.30 to 4.0 except on Wednesdays and Saturdays. But this by no means completed the master's work. Half his time, outside of school hours, he was "on duty," either in the schoolroom or the playground or the dormitories; and added to this was the great testing-time of evening school, from 7 to 8, when all were assembled in the large schoolroom, a duty which fell to senior members of the staff. Being a junior master Mr. Moulton probably escaped this duty, but the fact remains that, with the exception of that one hour, from 6 A.M to 9 P.M. he had no time to himself.

It was after such a day as this that he betook himself to his studies in his bedroom, for junior masters there did not enjoy the luxury of private rooms. There was no fire, and very little heat found its way into those rooms. He stood at his chest of drawers with his gown over his shoulders, and when at 10.30 the gas was turned off, he lit his candle and went on working at higher mathematics until midnight. It was not unsanctified ambition that made him put forth such prodigious efforts. When one of his most intimate friends, the Rev. A. J. French, expostulated with him about his manner of life and playfully twitted him on his desire to be superior to other men, he replied, "I don't care at all about being superior, but I should like to be equal." Side by side, moreover, with this perfectly worthy but human sentiment there was the higher purpose, the divine influence that so completely transfigured his life. Worldly ambition was crushed within him at his conversion, and now wherever he was and upon whatever task he was engaged, his work had a new interest for him by reason of the new purpose and motive-power which had entered his life: what was to him before a delight now became—without losing in the slightest degree

its attractiveness—a solemn trust as well. "It is my duty," he said, "to become all that I may become."

The only period of his life at which he kept a journal was during the four years at Taunton, and in that journal are to be found the few self-revealing utterances among the records of his life. And because they are so full of self-revelations they have their place here. Utterances of this kind receive, as a rule, scant appreciation from the world at large, which is wont to write down self-depreciation as cant, or as generated by the love of praise. But no one of spiritual insight and experience will be guilty of such injustice. The more real and genuine a man's religion, the more clearly does he see the fulness of the glory to which he is called; and, against that background, his own shortcomings loom ever larger and more terrible, until he feels himself in very truth "the chief of sinners." That it was so with Mr. Moulton will be seen from the following extracts from his journal, scattered over the period between May 1854, and December 1857.

"*May* 19, 1854.—This is the anniversary of my spiritual birth. Three years to-day, between twelve and one in the morning, I found peace with God. Thanks be unto Him for His unspeakable gift! Oh that I were more devoted to Him! I have given way to-day to rather unkind language to the boys and have not constantly had God's honour before me in the work I have had to do."

. . . . .

"I have not been gentle and patient enough with the boys. Oh that God would enable me to do something, actively or passively, for them! I trust I am willing to follow the leadings of Providence as regards the future, but I need to be more alive to His claims in the present, in the work of each day."

. . . . .

"I have not shown sufficient gentleness to-day. I do not wear a winning demeanour. Spoke to ——; should have done so before. May He who is my only hope make me useful!"

. . . . .

"Was enabled to speak to one who once ran well. By God's grace I will be one of those who win souls; but to this end I must strive against sin myself:

"1. Let me study God's Word more thoroughly and more practically.

"2. Attend more resolutely to early morning prayer—prayer which brings past, present, and future to God.

"3. Practise self-examination more. I have a sermon to make for the 18th [eight days after]. Let me begin at once and seek to receive a special blessing whilst studying it. . . . Oh for a tender conscience!"

To those who knew the Dr. Moulton of The Leys the constant references to "temper" and "harshness," and the entry "Oh that I could draw more and drive less!" are almost incredible, and can only be explained by taking account of a conscience scrupulously — at times almost morbidly—exacting.

"I have been assisted this evening with the boys. I wonder I have never thought of reading to them before. I read extracts from Wesley's life and interested them. I had prayed for guidance, and acknowledge this as an answer to prayer. I shall, I expect, have much to try me to-morrow, for I am on full duty. Let me therefore prepare. . . .

"4. By watching against my temper.

"5. By guarding against self-indulgence — staying up late to read. I must be in bed by half-past ten and rise

not later than half-past five. I think I have been more preserved from levity than before."

. . . . .

"Let me not talk to others yet about my thinking of preaching, and wishing to be a missionary, but let me *live* more like a servant of God and seek His guidance."

. . . . .

As surprising as the references to "temper" and "harshness" are those to "trifling"—"This habit of *trifling* will ruin me if I do not overcome it"—and to "love of praise." If ever the latter was a snare to him in early life, the snare was broken before his entry into the ministry. So genuine was his sense of unworthiness that praise became to him positive pain. He would walk out of the room rather than hear a laudatory passage about himself, and to the day of his death it was with the greatest difficulty that he could be induced to listen to letters of congratulation on the various honours conferred upon him. He would hear with joy and gratitude of the affection of his friends, but not their praise of himself.

It was during this period that he first began to preach. With what searchings of heart and self-humiliation he would approach the task may be inferred from the passages quoted above from his diary, and also from the following letter, written to his sister :

"Taunton, *Aug.* 12, 1856.

"My dear Lizzie,—I hope Annie will not be hurt at my not writing to her. I know it is her turn to hear, but I have something to tell you. . . . I promised to tell you when I began to preach. Accordingly, though of course the others must know, I write to tell you first. Last Sunday I began. I preached three times and had altogether about ten miles to walk; I think you will agree with me that I had enough for a first time. I had consented to take this appointment at

Mr. Sibly's request about a week before. One of the local preachers is out of town, and some one had told Mr. S. that I had begun to preach. To my surprise one evening he mentioned it to me and asked me whether I would begin. After some consideration I consented, thinking that, perhaps, his asking me was an indication that I ought to make up my mind. I 'got on' much better than I deserved, and enjoyed the day. In the morning I had the honour of preaching at a desk where Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke had stood: indeed, Dr. Coke preached his trial sermon in that village. In the afternoon and evening I was at a place called North Curry. I did not 'stick fast': in the afternoon I did not feel quite at home, but enjoyed the morning and evening services. I feel thankful for the assistance that was granted me, and for the happiness I experienced. How far I may continue I do not know, but suppose it probable that I shall, if spared, try again. I trust divine direction will be granted me, and that my path will ever be made plain. . . . With kindest love to Aunt, and you all.

"I remain, your affectionate brother,

"WILLIAM."

In his journal he thus describes this "opening of his commission":

"I have ventured to begin to preach. My congregation assembled in a room in the house of one of our friends, and I preached to them from the first clause of Isaiah lii. 1, an exhortation more applicable to myself, probably, than to any member of my congregation. I entered on the service with trepidation, but was assisted throughout by a sense of God's presence. At the evening service (at North Curry) I felt but little embarrassment in applying another exhortation, 'Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.' Altogether I have

reason to be thankful for the help afforded me. I know not whether I shall repeat the attempt."

He did repeat the attempt, and fairly soon too. His ministrations seem to have been thoroughly acceptable to the societies in these villages, for, under September 18, there is an entry :

"*Sept.* 18, 1856.—I was asked to preach at the same places (Knapp and North Curry) on Sunday, but as two new sermons would have been required, I only consented in case no other arrangement could be made. Happily for me and for the friends at these places other aid was secured; and I went, at the Superintendent's request, to Wrantage and Hatch Beauchamp. I had a hot dusty walk of six miles, and the morning congregation, consisting largely of children, were mostly asleep. I made my first collection—two and tenpence! From Wrantage I had a delightful walk to Hatch. Most of the land near belongs to our principal friend there. Less than two years ago he was butler to the Squire, and twice I had taken tea with him in the butler's room at Hatch Court. On the sudden death of the Squire it was found that almost all the property, which was very considerable, was left to the butler. He is now the Squire, and this time when I took tea with him at the Court it was *not* in the butler's room. Of the services I can only say how I wish I could believe that any good was done; but I do not live what I preach, so how can I expect it? If I continue preaching I shall find Hessel's Life very useful. I am specially impressed by the chapter in which he represents what should be the feelings of a minister when about to engage in divine services."

Some of the entries which follow are of peculiar interest

because they reveal the conflicts in his own mind concerning his future work—a problem which he approached with a characteristic singleness of aim and disregard of personal advantage:

"*Nov.* 13, 1856.—I have been strongly advised by friends whose judgment I trust, to enter the Indian Civil Service, and I cannot help feeling more—shall I say *curiosity* about the future than ever before. I feel as if I had not yet found my life-work but were on the point of doing so. And then comes the sense of my unfitness for everything. How I should enjoy a year given entirely to study, so that I might repair some of my defects; but that idea is altogether Utopian. No, I must endeavour by increased diligence to acquire habits which will prepare me for a *life of study.* A mind rightly prepared will be ever learning. Whether the ministry will be my ultimate destination I cannot tell. To think of it appears presumption. Its mental associations, the studies most naturally connected with it are, it is true, what I prefer to all others. This, if I were so unfortunate as to belong to a less enlightened Church than our own, would probably decide the point; but we do not regard our personal tastes as a sufficient call to so sacred an office: and in the most important qualifications, the discipline and culture of the heart and soul, I am indeed found wanting. On the Sabbath, while endeavouring to set forth that heavenly life which so feebly animates mine, I feel a spark of zeal; but the crowded occupations of the week come and deaden it, and then who would recognise in me the preacher of the Sunday? Oh that I could awake and put on strength—the strength which comes alone from Him to whose service I would offer a wholly consecrated life! Last Sunday I preached at the small village of Buckland St. Mary in a farm-

house kitchen. My congregation in the morning numbered seven, in the afternoon twelve. I felt more freedom than ever before, and also greatly enjoyed meeting a class—for the first time in my life!"

As yet Mr. Moulton was only "on trial" as a local preacher: before he could be accepted "upon full plan" he had to preach before another local preacher who would report to the Local Preachers' Meeting concerning the sermon, at which meeting also he would be questioned by the Superintendent Minister upon Christian doctrine. This seems to have taken place at the June meeting in 1857.

"*Plymouth, June* 18, 1857.—At last the College half-year has come to an end, and I am able to take a little rest, or rather a change of work. I have preached my 'Trial Sermon' and been recommended by the Local Preachers' Meeting; though one member challenged my orthodoxy, as I judge (through what I happened to observe) owing to his having been asleep (a most natural state, by-the-bye, under such a discourse) at the time I used a certain important '*if*.' Since this ordeal I have preached in Stonehouse Chapel, the largest to which I have ever been sent. I felt so little, but as my sermon drew to a conclusion the size of the chapel looked considerably less. Some of my friends seem to take it for granted that I should enter the ministry, but I greatly fear shaping my course myself, either by the expectations of others or by my own wishes, instead of being led by the Spirit. As the time for decision draws nearer I feel increasingly anxious, but the anxiety is only that I may know what is my right path. I wish I could tell what amount of conviction constitutes a 'a call.' I believe different persons are differently influenced by the Holy Spirit. Certainly what we understand by the 'Witness of the Spirit' differs in its

character greatly. Some have an overwhelming flood of light and happiness and can no more doubt of their acceptance than of their existence. To others the same Spirit speaks with a still, small voice. For my own part I have never looked for nor experienced manifestations of the former kind: if I had considered these the only genuine ones I should have been in continual darkness. So with regard to a call to the highest of all offices. Some feel 'Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel,' and almost audibly the voice of God seems to them to send them forth into His service. But, reasoning from analogy, is it right to expect this in *all* cases? I think not, but I cannot feel sure what is the leading of Providence."

Two or three other entries during the later months of 1857 are interesting in various ways. He was slowly nearing a decision as to his life work.

"*Oct.* 3, 1857.—H.'s book is very good as far as it goes, but it does not touch on that which interests me most—the question of discrepancies in points of *fact* which are met with in the Gospels. By-the-bye, I have ventured to write on this subject to the clergyman, Mr. Ellicott,* whose former letters have helped me so much, and he answered me very promptly in his own kind and instructive way."

"*Oct.* 30, 1857.—I was much affected at hearing that a member of my congregation on Sunday had died very suddenly the next morning whilst going about his ordinary business. Though usually an attendant at his parish church he came to our service; God applied the Word to his heart and he was moved to earnest prayer and penitence. I do not know more than this, but I am feeling deeply what an effect this solemn event should have on my ministry henceforth."

* The present Bishop of Gloucester.

"*Nov.* 11, 1857.—The morning (6 to 7) was so fine that the Headmaster has been sending some of the senior boys to the Observatory, where I have, of course, had to do the honours of the new telescope, as I do also on every fine evening. It is a great enjoyment, and all the more so in this harassing uncertainty as to the future: it seems to remind me that I may well commit my 'ways into His hands, to His sure truth and tender care who heaven and earth commands.' I scarcely understand this prolonged indecision about the ministry; but I am sure that I am only waiting for some clear indication of God's will. How awful it would be to make any mistake about that!"

It was during these quiet years at Taunton that the name of W. F. Moulton gradually began to become known outside the circle of his own acquaintances owing to his successes at London University. Having matriculated at sixteen—the earliest age possible—and taken his B.A. degree at the age of nineteen in 1854, he, two years later, took his M.A. Mathematics still continued to be his favourite study, as may be seen from the fact that when he graduated in 1854 it was with mathematical honours, and when he took his Master's degree he was awarded the gold medal for mathematics and natural philosophy. Indeed, so brilliant was his work on this last occasion that the examiner, Professor Gerrard, urged him to go up to Cambridge, and encouraged him to do so by adding that he believed he would become Senior Wrangler. A comparison of the lists of the medal-winners at the London M.A. examination with the lists at Cambridge render it perfectly possible, to say the least of it, that the Professor's augury would have proved correct. Out of the twenty-four gold medallists in mathematics in London, seven have been Senior Wranglers, three more have been Smith's Prizemen,

and three others have been second, third, and fourth respectively, while of the remainder the great part did not come up to Cambridge at all. It was a tempting prospect from many points of view, for no one could have entered into the best spirit of a great university more thoroughly than he would have done.

But he refused to entertain the idea. There was slowly but surely forming in his mind an ideal compared with which the highest academic glory seemed poor and mean, and it was to Christian service, not to intellectual distinction, that he was looking to satisfy the aspirations of his soul.

The commencement of 1858 marks the end of this period of doubt and uncertainty, and a final committal of himself to the work which he viewed with such reverent awe.

"*Jan.* 20, 1858.—I have entered on what I cannot but regard as probably my last half-year at Taunton. I feel how more than ever important it is, therefore, that all my actions should be animated with a new life which may react on the boys around me; but I also feel increasingly how far removed is a thoroughly consistent life from an unstable nature like mine. Shall I *ever* attain to it? I am almost in despair as I review the past year with its sins and follies and lost opportunities, and can only cry to God to 'hide this self from me': 'In all things nothing may I see, nothing desire or seek, but Thee!'

"*March* 22, 1858.—I have at last come to a decided conviction that it is my duty to offer myself at the next District Meeting as a candidate for the ministry. Not that I have even now any overwhelming influence in that direction, but I seem to myself to be more evidently moved of God, and I am firmly persuaded that if I am mistaken some indication will be given me between this time and Conference. I have therefore to-day sent in my resignation to the College Directors.

Whether my offer should be for the home or foreign work I do not yet see. I still think that the offer should be unrestricted, in the absence of special reasons tending in one direction or the other. The question is, are there such reasons in my case? I feel as if I were lacking in nearly all the qualities and faculties specially needed in a missionary, and my friends think that I could be more useful in the home work. But all I desire is that I may be led, and not left to my own inclinations."

The resolve to enter the Church of his fathers caused him to apply himself with redoubled energy to the particular studies he had taken up.

On Dec. 10, 1856, he had written in his journal:

"I have set German before me as the main subject of study during the coming vacation. This I have resumed with special reference to Biblical studies. It is my desire, whatever may be my destination ultimately, to apply myself as fully as I can to the science of Biblical interpretation. But that is a very wide field. I have had no fresh thoughts of India. If I ever should go there I should wish it to be in the capacity of a missionary, rather than in the service of the Government."

His favourite study of mathematics was laid aside, and all his energies were turned towards those studies which were the most calculated to fit him for the lofty calling which he was to follow. To the end of his life he never lost his love for mathematics, chemistry and natural philosophy, and he always rejoiced when opportunities for teaching them came in his way, but henceforth Hebrew, New Testament Greek and other studies bearing upon Biblical questions became his chief occupation. And such were his powers of acquisition

that when in 1860—two years after entering the ministry—he took the Scripture examination at London University he swept the board there, as he had done previously in mathematics. He was the only candidate who ever took a first class in all the four subjects—Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, Greek Text of the New Testament, Evidences of the Christian Religion, and Scripture History. In the first three subjects he carried off the University prizes, and in the Calendar of the University there will be seen against his name a special mark of distinction never given before or since. Thus was he equipping himself for the career of Biblical study which not only made his reputation—to him that would be a matter of very small moment—but also enabled him to be the helper and guide of all those who sought his advice in their perplexities concerning the Word of God.

The brilliance of Mr. Moulton's record at London University did not relieve him from the necessity of passing through every one of the tests with which the Wesleyan Methodist Church safeguards the entrance to her ministry. After his acceptance by the Quarterly Meeting of his own Circuit in March 1858 he went before the May District Meeting of the Exeter District, where he was examined in Christian doctrine *vivâ voce* and preached a trial sermon. Concerning this he writes:

"*May* 29, 1858.—Last Wednesday week Fletcher * and I left Taunton for the District Meeting at Dunster. My destination was Watchett on the coast. Here I had to preach my trial sermon at 6 o'clock in the morning before three rather formidable judges. I felt very uncomfortable. However they gave me a favourable report—more so than I deserved. Then came the examination—lasting more than

* The Rev. George Fletcher, the present Governor of Richmond College.

two hours—before about thirty ministers. The questions were very minute and searching, but I enjoyed the time very much (barring the physical strain of standing so long in a small and rather crowded room) and learnt a good deal from the examination."

Having been unanimously sent forward by the authorities of his Circuit and his District he came before what is known as the "July Committee," representing the Connexion as a whole. There he was examined again in Doctrine both *vivâ voce* and on paper, and was also tested as to physical soundness by a medical specialist. The marks he received on every test were the very highest possible, and the Conference accepted him for "Home, Immediate,"—that is to say, Home work as distinct from Foreign and without a preliminary three years at College, which was deemed unnecessary in his case.

CHAPTER II

RICHMOND

The offer of such a man for the ministry of his Church could not fail to arouse special interest throughout the brotherhood of ministers and the Church at large. But the enthusiasm with which he was received never turned his head. Writing to his father he says, "I did see the complimentary paragraph referred to; but who that knows anything of Biblical criticism could suppress a smile at any *young* man's being spoken of as having 'made considerable attainments in it'? If the writer had referred only to my love of such studies he would have been correct." From the standpoint of intellectual gifts he was a great addition to the Church's teachers and preachers. A superficial observer might be tempted to form an unjust inference concerning the scholarship of the Wesleyan ministry of those days from the absence of those "decorations" upon which the outside world sets so great a store. It is perfectly true that far fewer of the ministers of the Wesleyan Connexion possessed University degrees forty years ago than now, but it would be most unjust to infer from that fact a lower standard of culture and scholarship. With few advantages of study outside the Connexional colleges, and with incomes which debarred them from extensive purchases in the way of books, that generation of Wesleyan ministers attained a standard of scholarship and manifested an origi-

nality of thought which this more fortunate age cannot afford to belittle. In the absence of external aids men were thrown back upon their own resources of mind, and these were not found wanting. In connection with this subject it must further be remembered that throughout the first half of this century the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were closed to Nonconformists; that when they were opened it was with manifest reluctance, and Nonconformists continued to be shut out from the most coveted prizes. Even to-day it is impossible for a Nonconformist to obtain a degree in Divinity at any English University!

Apart from his own talents Mr. Moulton was welcomed into the brotherhood for the sake of his ancestry. He had behind him an honoured line of Methodist preachers, and it was with unfeigned pleasure and thankfulness that the men who had known the earlier Moultons and had valued their services, saw this one—bidding fair to be the most brilliant of them all—follow in the footsteps of his fathers. The various examinations incident upon entrance into the Wesleyan ministry presented no serious difficulty to one who had won such triumphs at London. "W. F. M. had no marks lower than the highest; your nephew's modesty appears equal to his ability," wrote M. C. Taylor to the Rev. Ebenezer Moulton.

At the Hull Conference of 1858 he was warmly accepted as a candidate, though, as may be inferred from what has already been said, he had to pass through his four years of probation, prior to ordination, just like any other man. Among his fellow candidates that year may be mentioned the Revs. Walford Green, W. L. Watkinson and Dr. H. J. Pope, all of whom — like himself — have occupied the Presidential chair of the Conference. At that Conference there was an animated discussion as to whether Mr. Moulton

should go into Circuit work or be appointed as tutor at one of the Institutions where men were being trained for the home and foreign work. In the first draft of the "stations" he was put down for Blackburn, and the Rev. John Bedford, who was then chairman of the Manchester and Bolton District, made a vigorous attempt to retain him; but the Rev. Benjamin Hellier strongly—and in the end successfully—contended that his right position would be that of a teacher, and he was appointed to the post of Assistant Tutor at Richmond College. In after life Mr. Hellier often declared that he considered that to be the best day's work he had ever done. Here he stayed for sixteen years, ten years as Assistant Tutor and six as Classical Tutor, and the importance of this period cannot possibly be over-rated for their influence upon his character and work.

Richmond College is so exceedingly familiar to Wesleyans that it requires some effort for the biographer to pull up and remind himself that not all the readers of this narrative will know their way about it. Some account must therefore be ventured of the scenes amid which Mr. Moulton laboured during the years that had most to do with forming his thought and winning his reputation. The College was one of three, since increased to four, which together make up what Methodists know as the Theological Institution. To one branch or other of the Institution are sent the candidates for the ministry who have been accepted by the Conference, unless there are special reasons—such as those exemplified at the close of the previous chapter—which justify sending them out at once into the work. It must be remembered that, apart from an examination evidencing a respectable general education, these men have so far been tested and approved as *preachers*, and preachers only. That is to say, they have already evidenced to the successive bodies

appointed to test them that they believe themselves called of God to preach the Gospel, and that God has owned their work so far by awakening sinners under their message. They have served at least a year as local preachers, and have been recommended by their Circuit Quarterly Meeting. They have preached trial sermons, ministers being appointed to attend and hear them. They have stood up before the Synod of their District—including all the ministers resident in an area corresponding roughly in size with an Anglican diocese—and given an account of their conversion and their call to preach, being then orally examined in the elements of scriptural theology, especially as interpreted in John Wesley's Sermons and Notes on the New Testament, which form the doctrinal standards of Methodism. On their impressions and on the reports from the superintendent minister of the candidate's Circuit the members of the Synod base their vote, and the successful candidates pass on to fresh tests. A written sermon, a second trial sermon in public, a written theological examination, a searching medical test, and then another oral examination before a select committee, sitting in two sections, at Richmond and at one of the northern colleges, complete the round of inquiry by which the Church endeavours to make as sure as possible of genuine promise and a real divine call in those for whose future she now becomes responsible. Conference, in this as in everything the final authority, deals with the report of this "July Committee," and occasionally accepts a candidate who passed his Synod but was not recommended by the Committee; in general, however, it accepts the Committee's findings. It has seemed well to give this detailed account, even at some risk of repetition, for the benefit of those who might fail otherwise to understand what material a tutor has to deal with. Rightly or wrongly, the Church which John

Wesley organised has always regarded the Christian ministry, clerical or lay, as an order of *prophets*, called of God to give His message; and those who are set apart to give their whole time to the work are trained on the intellectual side when it has been ascertained, so far as fallible human judgment can ascertain, that they are truly sent forth by the Head of the Church to speak for Him.

The young ministers who were allocated to Richmond College were, as already mentioned, for some years exclusively those designated for the foreign work. They began their three years' course at very different levels. Many of them were ministers' sons, trained at the splendid school which John Wesley established for his preachers' children, where the joint stimulus of inherited habits and of honourable poverty secured from the great majority of the boys a vigorous use of the educational advantages given them. Others of the students, like prophets and apostles of old, were called from the fishing boat, the field or the counter. Some seventy men, standing in such widely different positions as to intellectual training, were in the hands of the Classical Tutor and his Assistant to mould to the best advantage. The Theological Tutor of course took them all in his special subjects, and the Governor lectured to them in Methodist polity and the administration of the Church they were about to serve, besides meeting them weekly in the "Society Class." Their colleagues on the "classical" side —we shall see later how much the term implied—had to sort the men out, teach Hebrew and classics and subjects for University examinations to those who were advanced enough, and on the other hand laboriously train in plain English subjects and the Greek Testament some whose education had been very elementary. For this herculean

task, an impossible task but for the men's eagerness to learn, the Tutors had the use of four long mornings a week, involving generally some five hours' teaching per diem, besides being constantly accessible to guide and advise their students. Monday and Saturday were necessarily days on which the students were left to themselves, for most of them were preaching at a distance on the Sunday. It need not be added that the teacher's work was not over when he left the class-room. The study up in the tower, where on a chilly winter's morning the Assistant Tutor would strike half a gross of matches* to light his fire for three or four quiet hours before breakfast; the little house a quarter of a mile away to which he moved on his marriage; and the house in the College grounds in which he spent as Classical Tutor the last six of his sixteen years at Richmond—all alike were far from being the retreats of learned leisure. The students were always very much at home there, and many were the troubles lightened and difficulties relieved by confidential talks within those walls. Such features of Mr. Moulton's work did not grow lighter when he moved out of the College and gave the students two sympathetic friends instead of one.

But we are allowing this general survey to anticipate events. We can hardly pass on, though, without a word more about the kind of life lived in the stately buildings on the top of famous Richmond Hill. A very healthy and delightful life it was, as the memories of many who read these pages will abundantly testify. Young men with plenty of innocent high spirits, unsubdued by any foolish asceticism on the part of their superiors, and kept within limits by a sound public opinion which rarely went astray—could any teacher wish for pupils more to his heart? What Richmond

* Matches in those days were a new invention. Mr. Moulton *counted* eighty-three failures one morning.

man will ever forget the sacred associations of chapel and hall and class-rooms, of the rows of little plainly furnished studies, or of the entrance hall where the majestic and inspiring figure of John Wesley from time to time looked down on his followers met together under his outstretched hand of blessing, to bid farewell in song to comrades departing for the uttermost parts of the earth? Into all these scenes of college life William Fiddian Moulton entered with all his heart. To make the picture complete, another side must be mentioned, into which his wishes entered more fully than his powers could do. "It is credibly reported"—shade of the Founder!—"that the boys did play," not at Kingswood only, but even at the Institution, from which such trifling might surely have been excluded! By way of compounding with conscience, the authorities insisted on ministerial garments. Shirt-sleeves and an occasional silk hat formed a remarkable costume for football. One day in the year was, if I remember rightly, sacrificed to secularism in the shape of the unseemly white flannel—the day when the Freshmen played the Second and Third Years at cricket. But lest the successful bowler or batsman should be exalted overmuch, the game was thoughtfully reduced to a matter of chance by a pitch on the slope of a hill, upon which no money had been diverted from Foreign Missions to provide even moderately level turf. Perhaps after all the game was none the less enjoyed, by the athlete who scored, or by the short-sighted Tutor who watched with keen interest the only kind of pursuit for which Nature had not fitted him.

Richmond was strongly staffed at that time. When Mr. Moulton first went to the College the Rev. Alfred Barrett* was Governor; the Rev. Thomas Jackson, Theo-

* Father of Mrs. Hugh Price Hughes.

logical Tutor—the Rev. John Lomas succeeding him in 1861; and the Rev. Benjamin Hellier, Classical Tutor.

Readers of a later age will be unable to realise all that these names implied to their own generation, but by those who came under their personal influence and whose ministry was enriched by their teaching, these men will never be forgotten. Here is the estimate formed of the staff by one who was under them :

"He [Dr. Moulton] was associated with a remarkable group of men—Alfred Barrett, high-minded, of never-failing though somewhat laboured courtesy, and saintly with a touch of the old sadness and asceticism ; Benjamin Hellier, deliberate, abstracted, blunt without rudeness, careful in judgment, quaint in speech, encyclopædic in knowledge ; John Lomas, with clean-shaven chin, arch and ruddy features, dome-like head, tufted and flanked with wisps of fine white hair, perhaps the most original theologian Methodism has had, and with a splendour of thought and diction quivering at intervals through his lectures glorious as the pulses of the northern lights; and youngest of all, William Fiddian Moulton, the equal in character of his remarkable colleagues, and quite outstripping them in the latest methods of scholarship." *

Thus Mr. Moulton's earliest ministerial relations were with men whose example would lead him not to make a bid for popular honours, but to do his present duty, and find his reward in the consciousness of doing it well. Between him and Mr. Hellier the intimacy grew very close, and the friendship begun in Richmond days continued, unbroken in spite of removals—for Mr. Hellier went to Headingley in 1868, and Mr. Moulton to Cambridge in 1875—up to the time of Mr. Hellier's death in 1888. Day after day at Richmond Mr. Hellier and Mr. Moulton would be seen out walking together, the only form of exercise in which throughout his

* Rev. T. G. Selby in *British Weekly*, Feb. 10, 1898.

life Mr. Moulton ever indulged. One would fain know what occupied their thoughts as they walked and talked by the way; but of one thing we may speak with confidence, that Mr. Hellier's calm and unprejudiced attitude towards the questions he approached could not fail to influence the younger man, and was, in all probability, to no small extent instrumental in developing that fairness of mind and reliability of judgment which afterwards characterised him.

At one time, shortly after entering the ministry, Mr. Moulton's thoughts were strongly turned towards the mission field. It was never his habit to choose his own path, and the fact that those whose authority he acknowledged in his Church marked out a certain course for him would be to him sufficient reason for accepting it without question. Still, he made it no secret that if the Conference had thought fit to send him to China instead of keeping him at Richmond he would have accepted the appointment with the deepest joy. When the Rev. Josiah Cox came home from China on furlough he found in Mr. Moulton, whom he met at Richmond, one who had a fervent and intelligent sympathy with his work and the needs of China. Mr. Cox enlarged upon the necessity of supplying to China a new system of education and a Christian literature, and expressed his heartfelt desire that the Methodist Church should take some share in this great duty. After a while, in quiet but earnest tones, Mr. Moulton said, "Well, Mr. Cox, I have often thought of our China mission, and if the Missionary Committee could deem me suitable I should think it an honour to receive an appointment to China." "May I tell them this?" asked Mr. Cox. "You may, and from me," was the reply. Mr. Cox quickly reported this to Dr. Hoole, the senior secretary. "Well," said the Doctor, "we may thank God for this at all events, and I shall gladly talk it

over with my colleagues." When Mr. Cox next was in Dr. Hoole's room his first question was, "What about Mr. Moulton's joining our Mission?" He answered, "We secretaries have talked it over carefully. We are grateful to Mr. Moulton for his offer, but we all think that he will do more for the mission cause by training men for service than by going out to the foreign field himself."

The fact that Richmond was, during Mr. Moulton's time, mainly a college for training men for the foreign field gave to the teaching staff of that institution an unrivalled opportunity for influencing the Biblical thought of their Church. Their instruction would bear fruit not only in the expositions given from hundreds of pulpits at home but also in the formation of vernacular versions in foreign mission stations, and Mr. Moulton, for one, feeling this great responsibility, bent every effort to make the Scriptures live in the minds of his pupils, and to instil into them sound principles of exegesis. And he had his reward, whether he was conscious of it during his lifetime or not, for from all quarters of the globe have come letters breathing the deepest affection and expressing fervid gratitude for what he did for the writers in first launching them out on the field of Biblical study. And one of the most brilliant of those pupils—the Rev. Henry Haigh—has, during the last twelve months, returned to the Mysore district, in face of serious warnings from medical specialists, for the sole purpose of completing the translation of the New Testament into the vernacular which he commenced before he left India three years ago. Writing concerning Mr. Moulton's influence on Richmond men Mr. Haigh says:

"But it was in his Greek Testament classes that he always seemed to me to be greatest. It was there that I first learned the meaning and began to realise the possibilities of exegesis, and scores of

others will say the same. The New Testament became a new book to us as he discoursed upon the Greek text before us. He dealt delightfully with the significance of single words; he displayed to us the suggestions that were involved in cases and tenses and prepositions; and he insisted most strongly of all on our following and stating to ourselves precisely the course of thought of the writer. I can conceive no higher training for preachers than those classes gave. Possible sermons seemed to appeal to us frequently and clamorously as he expounded. Ay, and more than that: they were often occasions of the highest value, for 'did not our hearts burn within us' as he spoke? Time and again in those classes he glowed as he unfolded to us the fullest significance of the words before us. He was in his element, and for the time was tutor and prophet in one." *

Among others who studied under him at Richmond may be mentioned the Rev. Dr. H. W. Watkins, Archdeacon of Northumberland; the Rev. Dr. T. Bowman Stephenson, President of the Wesleyan Conference in 1891; and the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, M.A., whose Presidential year has recently closed.

With Mr. Hughes, in his Richmond days and ever since, Dr. Moulton's relations were very close, and more than once the mediation of the Assistant Tutor saved the student from the wrath of the more conservative authorities. On one occasion tutor and student were, so to speak, in disgrace together—though no sane man to-day would apply the term "disgrace" to the situation. When the question of nationalising the Universities was before Parliament the Liberation Society sent to Mr. Hughes—with prophetic instinct recognising in him a likely champion—a petition form, with the request that he would get the tutors and students to petition Parliament in favour of that instalment of justice. The only tutors who consented to sign were Mr. Hellier and Mr.

* *Leys Fortnightly*, In Memoriam, p. 8.

Moulton. Even Mr. Barrett hesitated, although of course his personal sympathies were with the movement. As two of the tutors actually signed Mr. Hughes described it as "A Petition of Tutors and Students at the College." Mr. Lomas was indignant with Mr. Hughes for thus describing the petition, and was not appeased when it was pointed out to him that what was said was not "*the* Tutors," but "Tutors." As for Mr. Moulton, when the Theological Institution Committee next met a prominent lay member moved a vote of censure upon him for his audacity. I am disposed to think that the matter went no further from want of a seconder, and I only mention the incident as a striking evidence of the change that has taken place in opinion during the last thirty years.

Another occasion on which Mr. Moulton championed Mr. Hughes was when an attempt was made to put him back two years because he had said, as chairman of the Richmond Students' Missionary Meeting, that he thought the Conference had made a great mistake in deciding that Richmond should be an exclusively Missionary College—a view in which the Connexion has since concurred by reversing the policy. Mr. Moulton had never fully approved of that policy, and his views on it were well known, although of course he fully submitted to the decision of the Conference. When the matter came up in the May meeting of the Second London District, Dr. Osborn, who was in the chair, brought a severe indictment against Mr. Hughes for presuming to criticise the action of Conference, and urged that he should be punished by the loss of two years, that is to say, by the addition of two years to his period of probation. Mr. Moulton then rose and moved as an amendment that, under all the circumstances, in view of Mr. Hughes's uniform good conduct as a student and of his acknowledgment of the impropriety

of his action in thus criticising the Conference, no further action should be taken. This wise and merciful course was supported by the venerable Thomas Jackson, formerly Theological Tutor at Richmond and twice President of the Conference, and was carried by a large majority.

From the fact that he was assistant to the Classical Tutor and then Classical Tutor himself, it must not be inferred that he was only concerned with the teaching of classics. From what has been said concerning the organisation of the Wesleyan Colleges it will be seen that the Governor—well, *is* the Governor and has pastoral oversight of the students and instructs them in Church Polity, &c.; that the Theological Tutor is responsible for the department of Theology and, in part, for Church History; and that all other subjects—Hebrew, Greek Testament, Latin and Greek authors, English, Mathematics, &c.—fall to the Classical Tutor and his assistant. And if this was the ordinary sphere of labour of that office it will easily be understood that during Mr. Moulton's occupancy it tended to widen rather than contract. A week's work with him would comprise reading Mathematics and the *Ajax* of Sophocles with Mr. Hugh Price Hughes for his London degree, teaching Hebrew to the first year's men, Greek Testament to almost all, and lecturing on Animal Physiology, Chemistry and Physics. To this fairly wide round of work there was occasionally added another, wholly diverse piece of voluntary service—the examination of a class of students in the theory of Music. At that time Mr. Heath Mills—the present Director of Music at the West Central Mission in London—was organist of the College chapel at Richmond, and also the conductor of the singing class at the College. Mr. Mills speedily found that in Mr. Moulton he had a hearty sympathiser in all his efforts to improve the music, and not infrequently Mr. Moulton took

the organ when Mr. Mills was absent. Of course it will be readily understood that amid their more pressing duties the students had not the time to make an exhaustive study of the subject, but Mr. Moulton felt that Mr. Mills was perfectly right in his desire to associate with the singing class some amount of instruction in the theory of music, and gave him every assistance that was in his power. I have before me an examination paper which Mr. Moulton set to this class upon "Harmony up to the chord of the dominant seventh."

It is not, I think, claiming too much for him to say that Mr. Moulton's influence upon Richmond students was far-reaching and unique; nor is it difficult to arrive at an explanation of this influence. It arose from his perfect accessibility as well as his freedom from self-consciousness. He was amongst the students rather as an elder brother, seeking to help his younger brethren to enter upon the inheritance that belonged to them; and how much they appreciated his co-operation and counsel is revealed by their loving remembrance of him. Like all who are truly great he was tolerant and patient of those who were slow and dull of understanding, and if ever he was roused to speak stern words of rebuke it was when he encountered indolence or failure on the part of one from whom he felt he had a right to expect better things.

"Towards conscientious mediocrity he was very indulgent, and he sometimes made himself the protector of persecuted weakness with a magnanimity that prompted the question, Is the scholar in him sleeping, or walking, or hunting, or on a journey? The accurate and painstaking studies in his Greek Testament classes were a revelation to men who had got a smattering of classics in the private middle-class schools of thirty years ago, and who had come into college feeling fairly well satisfied with their equipment

of working theology. The union of candour, reverence, and free and enthusiastic research in his temper broadened his students, without either making them prigs or tempting them to reckless delight in shocking old-fashioned orthodoxy. The extreme humility of this man, who was at once a great scholar and a notable saint, was pathetic and almost incongruous." *

Some of his letters during his early days at Richmond are interesting for their revelation of his inner self.

"*Sept.* 9, 1858.—I am most comfortable and like all my work. But whether it will suit me as well to be here as it would have done to be in a Circuit I do not know. It requires more vigilance to keep earnest and zealous, for I have a great tendency to regard study as the chief thing and to forget the other work to which I am called. On Sunday I had much freedom and happiness whilst preaching from my favourite text—Matthew xi. 28—but I was haunted, as I so often am, by the fear that I was to some extent preaching self instead of Christ Jesus the Lord only and altogether.

"After the morning service (at Greenwich) two ladies asked me if I did not remember them in Wales, mistaking me for my father whom they knew more than twenty-seven years ago! A few yards from the chapel gates another lady claimed acquaintance dating from twenty years since at Boston where she had heard me (that is, my father) preach! Surely this is a presage that 'venerable' is to be one of my titles!"

. . . . .

"*Jan.* 14, 1859.—I had a very happy Sunday at Croydon, and after the evening service in the prayer-meeting several entered into new life. There was no excitement or manifestation of strong feeling, but God was evidently working with us. May He help me to work with Him more earnestly!"

* Rev. T. G. Selby in *British Weekly*, Feb. 10, 1898.

"*Jan.* 21, 1859.—At the College chapel last Sunday I felt as I always do there, fettered from beginning to end. If I had no more freedom elsewhere I think I should feel it my duty to give up attempting to preach. At the same time I feel that I ought to care less about personal comfort and be willing to suffer anything if I may but be useful."

"*June* 25, 1859.—I am near the close of my first year's work here, but the present time is specially full of labour and also of anxiety about the work. For the first time some of our students are taking the London Matriculation examination, and my work for and with them is now continuous from 5 A.M. to 10 P.M., saving meal times. I am greatly troubled because, having to preach Sunday School sermons next Sunday, I have yet had no time for special preparation owing to this extra pressure. But God knows all my difficulties, and I have strong confidence that He will not let the services suffer through what I could not avoid. It is when I have been idle that I have no right to expect help."

"*Sept.* 1859.—On my way back to Richmond I had the delight of calling at Taunton, where the boys gave me a noisy welcome, and my old friends the Masters were kindness itself. Now we are in the full tide of work here, and after my classes are over I may be seen daily in the library surrounded by musty, dusty volumes, counting, measuring shelves, calculating the average breadth of octavos and of duodecimos, and trying to solve the problem of stowage. For we are to have Mr. Jackson's library (bought by Mr. Heald's donation of a thousand pounds), and when these 7500 additional volumes are arranged in our noble room it will be worthy of the College and of Methodism. Then there is the work of making the catalogue ; so there is no danger of my not having enough to do. On Sunday, for once, I was 'nowhere,' that is, I was here, and greatly did I enjoy the privilege of

hearing Mr. Barrett preach twice. Next Sunday, alas! I have to preach at Brixton Hill, where several of our 'great men' live; and oh how I dread having them in my congregation! I could wish my Sunday work were always in village chapels, as it used to be at Taunton; for I always feel most at home amongst plain 'homely' people."

Over and over again there appear references to such nervousness in preaching as took away all joy and satisfaction in the work. "The College chapel again, with neither power nor pleasure in the services, and with a paralysing weight on both brain and heart."

. . . . .

"I was at Blackheath on Sunday. I always enjoy everything there except the preaching, in which I feel 'bound hand and foot.' Shall I ever overcome this distressing nervousness, I wonder?"

. . . . .

"*Jan.* 31, 1860.—I am still haunted at times by the fear that I am not in my right place—that I have never really been called of God to the work of the ministry. A clouded mind and a cold heart afflict me, but I take refuge in a personal Saviour, and redemption in Him is all my hope. On Sunday I had an experience which will live long in my memory. I had to preach at the College chapel, and never was I so much cast down at the prospect. I doubted whether I ought to attempt to preach at all. In the morning service my worst fears seemed realised: memory, mind and feeling deserted me, and I had to repeat sentences from sheer inability to grasp what should come next. After this terrible experience I felt as if it would be impossible to face the evening service, and in an agony of prayer I laid the whole matter before God. The answer was an overwhelming

sense of the presence of Jesus. I went to the service in a state of mind which was neither faith nor joy, nor love, consciously, but just this sense of my Saviour's nearness, so that I could think of nothing but Him. It remained with me all through the service, and for the first time in the College chapel I had no sense of nervous embarrassment. One of the students, a warm-hearted Irishman, told me afterwards that he had gone to the service under circumstances of peculiar depression, and the sermon had brought him just the message he needed. This and my own personal experience have greatly cheered and encouraged me. The Lord hath been mindful of me, and now I dare to hope that He will bless even my ministry."

At this period his spare time was very fully occupied with preparing for the Scripture Knowledge Examination at London University. His letters contain many references to this work :

"*Richmond, June* 28, 1860.—The vacation is at hand, and now I really must get seriously to work for my London examination. The knowledge of Scripture which it requires I covet exceedingly. But it is impossible to get anything done whilst the College work is going on. Examinations have been in full swing lately, and my share has been the superintendence and arrangement of all the written part—theological and classical. Humble though it has been in quality, it has involved a very large amount of work. Yesterday, for example, I was 'about' from half-past four in the morning till eleven at night, without a moment's leisure except at meals. I was very thankful for a day's rest on Sunday, and for the refreshment which two sermons from Mr. Hellier gave me."

"*July* 13, 1860.—I am at last able to give five or six hours a day to my London work, and am specially engaged just now on questions affecting the authorship, date, sources, &c., of the Books of the Bible. I enjoy these studies more than I can express. If God continue health and opportunity I shall make a thorough acquaintance with His Word my chief aim. For though this particular work concerns only the outward form, surely the casket which was thought worthy of containing the jewel from heaven is worth the minutest examination which can be given to it! I am only beginning to learn how much there is to learn in this field."

"*Nov.* 5, 1860.—This is my last week before the examination, and I seem to have almost everything still to do. Failure (that is, a Second Class) is almost certain, but the advantages I have gained from the work are worth far more than the prize, though as that takes the form of valuable books I cannot feel indifferent to it."

How completely he had under-estimated his own achievements is shown by the following extract:

"*Nov.* 20, 1860.—To my intense surprise the Examiners have marked the result, 'Specially distinguished as having passed in the First Class in each of the subjects.' That I have succeeded so much better than I had expected is, I feel, due to the special help—the collectedness of mind, for instance—given me at the time of the examination. I had felt more than usually able to leave myself and the issue in God's hands, and so I was kept from distracting thoughts. If any one has cause for gratitude for countless mercies, *I* have. Now I have to think of Sunday's work at Westminster, which I dread even more than usual, perhaps partly because I am physically very weary. Please tell Mr. H. that I will gladly take all his work during the vacation. I

should be very sorry to take my ease when he will injure himself if he cannot get rest."

It was at this time that he made his first visits to Oxford and Cambridge, which interested him greatly, as might be expected. The account of the Cambridge visit is mostly taken up with comments upon the interpolations in the Codex Bezae, which is one of the treasures of the University library, but he was not so altogether absorbed in things academic as to fail to be impressed also with the kitchens at St. John's College. So far as one brief visit to each University town could give him any preferences he seemed to prefer Cambridge, which was just as it should be, in view of future events.

One passage in a letter at this time will be distinctly humorous to Methodists:

"I have had another interesting interview with Mr. Arthur. By the way, he read us a slip from a Philadelphia newspaper, in which 'Adam Bede' is attributed to 'the Rev. W. Arthur, D.D., the author of that wonderful tale (!) '*The Tongue of Fire!*'"

It is to be regretted that no diary of any sort is available for the greater portion of his life, and that from 1858 onwards there are no records of any kind concerning his daily work, except such as are afforded by his letters to his future wife.

This will perhaps be the most fitting stage at which to revert to earlier years and give a glance at some intensely personal matters, destined as they were to colour his whole life.

In September 1853 his father had moved into a new sphere of labour, the Guernsey Circuit, and three months

afterwards William, a boy of eighteen, came home for the holidays from his humble duties in the private school at Devonport. Those were momentous holidays for him, for they witnessed the first meeting with his future wife. A biography which deals summarily with such a history as that which opens here must indeed be wanting; and yet it seems almost impossible to write the record now. What that union was to him can only be imagined by those who have dipped into letters which display the whole man as nothing else can do, from ardent youth to age in which the lover was lover still. The gracious, tender, strong and chivalrous nature, which even outsiders were able to appreciate so highly, showed itself to his wife in forms too sacred to reveal. It is hard to tell what he gave her: it is harder still to tell what he received, under the eyes of one who will suffer no fit tribute to gifts worthy even of him. Suffice it to say that in the house of God that Christmas time William Fiddian Moulton first saw one who was to be his right hand in all his labour and his very heart through all his life.

The Rev. Samuel Hope had settled in Guernsey as a supernumerary seven years before this point in our story. His ancestry had not been in the same "apostolical succession" which the Moultons had enjoyed; but he had shown the strength of his devotion to the work of the Methodist ministry by relinquishing for it a fine position in the family bank at Liverpool, to take up a career that meant a life of comparative poverty to the end. He rose to an honoured position in the Church of his choice, becoming General Secretary for Home Missions; and he retired to Guernsey with shattered health after leading a forlorn hope in Canterbury, where he saved Methodism from collapse at the cost of his own life. He died a year after he reached the peaceful

island home, in the sixty-third year of his age and the fortieth of his ministry. Those very figures were destined to reappear in the epitaph of the distinguished son-in-law whom he never knew. The widow was living in a charming little house, high up on the hill, which looked out, over its big garden, to the blue waters and picturesque islands of the English Channel and the dim French coast beyond. The place was a paradise, but life had been very sad in that little home during the six years since Mr. Hope died. His youngest child, her mother's only daughter, left fatherless at an age when most little girls have few ideas beyond their dolls, became nurse and secretary to the widow, who was nearly blind. Her two elder brothers, away at Kingswood School, and afterwards at their work as students in London hospitals, seldom disturbed the solitude of the young girl's life. It was a strange providence which cut childhood short at the age of eight, and selected letter-writing as an employment for one who through twenty-three years of later life was to write letters often for seven or eight hours a day!

The motherly instinct of Mrs. Moulton was not slow to divine the feelings which very soon developed in her son's mind, if indeed she had not foreseen them before the day when she brought him to make the acquaintance of his destined bride. She was not to see the fulfilment of her hopes in a formal engagement, which took place in July 1856, the earliest time at which the age of the young couple made it possible. Ten months before that event the idolised mother had been cut off by sudden death, an end she had often prayed to be spared, little realising that her own experience and her son's would show how God in special mercy to His children sometimes visits them in a form from which they have asked to be delivered.

It was two years before William Fiddian Moulton offered

for the ministry: he had not indeed at this time even begun to preach. The engagement therefore was necessarily a long one, for the paternal laws of the Wesleyan Church most wisely decree that marriage must not precede ordination. Two years he waited as a schoolmaster, the regulation four years more as a "Probationer," serving his diaconate at Richmond, as already described; and then, on August 14, 1862, the love-story entered on a new phase with the simple marriage service in Hanley Wesleyan Chapel. The way the six years' engagement was spent was thoroughly characteristic. Love was "a liberal education" in more ways than one. Their letters were composed on principles not likely to become popular among lovers. Systematic study of literary, scientific, and theological subjects was pursued even during the brief periods when *vivâ voce* discussion was possible, and kept up in a correspondence which ranged over spiritual experience, comments on public as well as private events, and lengthy question and answer on topics suggested by the books they studied together. Had there been in later and busier life adequate motive to enforce letter-writing on this scale, the present biography would have been incomparably the richer for it.

There may be those who in reading this description of a long series of love-letters will think that such topics must necessarily have crowded out the sentiment which usually dominates that form of composition. It is not possible to refute this by quotation; but as in all essential features William Fiddian Moulton was at sixty-one what he was at twenty-one, only more so, this part of his biography may be fitly summed up in his own words. On Oct. 8, 1896, after having sent grateful letters to his doctor and nurse, as it was the first anniversary of an illness during which he had

owed much to their skill and kindness, he thus addresses his wife:

"But to my 'other self,' the soul
Of all my life holds dear, my spring
Of hope, joy, strength, how can I bring
Thanks for a *part*, who owe the *whole?*"

How far he was from desiring to shape his own course, and how willing he was to leave himself unreservedly in the hands of the leaders of the Church whose ministry he had entered, is illustrated by the following letter to Mrs. Hope concerning the future. There was then a strong conviction in the minds of the ministers—which has since hardened into a positive rule—that every man should have a period of Circuit work before being sent to a fixed post; and Mr. Moulton, knowing this to be the case, had been perfectly prepared to leave Richmond after his ordination. To his surprise—probably, also, to his great gratification—the Institution Committee strongly recommended his being continued in his present post.

"RICHMOND, *Nov.* 27 [1861].

"MY DEAR MRS. HOPE,—I have been for some days wanting to pay you a visit now that you are left alone, but I have been hindered from day to day. I cannot write more than a few lines to-day, but I will not disappoint myself any longer. You have heard all the news I could send, I have little doubt. The most important, so far as I am concerned, is the conversation which took place in our committee last week. I did not expect that the subject would be brought forward for some time to come, much less that the opinion in favour of my remaining here would be so general. I knew that there would be some supporters of the proposition, but felt sure that Dr. Osborn and one or two others would think the other course [going into Circuit work] best for me.

As far as I know my own mind I can say I had no expectation at all of either result; nor was I desirous of remaining unless those who know best what will be beneficial for me should so appoint. As it is, I trust the hand of Providence is guiding; I desire no more. Of course the matter is not settled. It is so uncertain what means of increasing the accommodation for the candidates will be tried, that no definite arrangement could be made. However, it is most probable that Richmond will be Hannah's home for a time, if you will trust her to my care. I was going to say 'give her up,' but I do not mean all that these words might imply. I do not want you to 'give her up' but to come with her, and with me —if I may look so far into the future as to talk in this way. You know how gladly I shall hear of your finally making up your mind to this. I hope it is made up already, and that I am writing in ignorance only. Only let me have the hope of showing you practically my gratitude for the many happy days I have spent under your roof; my gratitude for the treasure I have received from you, through the goodness of my Heavenly Father, no words or deeds of mine can ever show. My time has come to an end, and I am afraid my visit has not been a very profitable one. It is a great pleasure, however, to me to break in at all on your loneliness, and remind you that there is one who hopes soon to subscribe himself

"Your affectionate son,

"Wm. F. Moulton."

From his letters to Miss Hope during his last year of probation the question of their future home is scarcely ever absent, though, as indicated already, he absolutely refrained from forming any plans and, indeed, in this case, would have been greatly perplexed if he had been called upon to choose for himself.

'*Oct.* 14, 1861.—I had to preach in the north of London yesterday, and as the superintendent had again forgotten to provide a home for me I had again to walk there and back. But the three and twenty miles really did me good, and I was able to preach with all the more energy because of the exercise. If only I could feel that God used me to bring His light to one dark soul! But though in everything else He graciously grants me the desire of my heart, He seems to leave me to mourn and lament over the barrenness of my ministry. I cannot wonder at it, for never was any man less worthy of those showers of blessing which attend the ministrations of His more faithful servants."

"*Nov.* 8, 1861.—For a solitary life mine is a very happy one. My work with the students is an increasing delight to me, and I am beginning to feel how hard it will be to leave them, as leave them I suppose I must in eight months' time."

"*Nov.* 21, 1861.—At the Local Committee held yesterday, it was proposed and resolved to recommend to the General Committee that I should remain here after Conference. The only objection was raised by Dr. Osborn, who thought it inconsistent to ordain a man for the work of the ministry and then not appoint him to the ministerial office. The others of course contended that it *would* be an appointment to the ministerial office. Mr. Boyce said I was predestined to be a tutor and they must not resist fate, if a man were unhappy enough to be so fated! I don't intend to fix my mind on this prospect; I have never even gone so far as to desire it without a reservation; but I shall be very thankful to remain at Richmond if that be God's will. I cannot think of the future without an overwhelming sense of our own ignorance and short-sightedness and of the uncertainty of all things. I would, therefore, walk the more humbly, meekly, submissively, by my Shepherd's side. I have had an en-

couraging letter from —— about the services at —— which I had feared were specially unfruitful. They speak of much good done and ask me to give them two Sundays instead of one in the next quarter. I trust I may accept this as a token that God does condescend to use me, in spite of so much unfaithfulness. For the third time in three months I had to walk twenty-three miles on Sunday, preaching three times; but I am all the better for it."

"*March* 21, 1862.—I am alarmed at the amount of work to be got through before the May District Meeting. I have hardly been able to touch my preparation for the examination then, being specially occupied with work for my classes. My class in Hebrews is going through the Epistle again for a more thorough study of certain portions. I have given nearly the whole of this week, in my private work, to the quotations from the Old Testament in the first chapter: they are tough morsels, and I cannot do anything else till I get more light on these. I only hope I shall not be censured for idleness if I am found unprepared in the subjects assigned for May!"

"*April* 2, 1862.—I have recovered my voice, after losing it for a few days, and have been talking for five consecutive hours. If you could have looked into my class-room you would not have thought the talker devoid of energy, or his work devoid of interest—to *him*, I mean. We were taking up the train of argument in Hebrews ii. This class in Hebrews interests me intensely: it is my first essay in the *interpretation* of Scripture, and I love the work. The students, whose kindness to me through all these years has been great and uniform, have just done another kind thing. They came to the resolution to present a document to the General Committee expressive of their earnest wish and opinion that I should not be removed from Richmond. I find that they

have been (wisely, as I think) advised not to address the Committee, but they have laid their views fully before Mr. Barrett and Mr. Hellier, who will represent them. I mention this matter because it is so helpful and encouraging to me in my work."

"*May* 10, 1862.—These words from Mr. Hellier fell on my astonished ears last evening: 'Your re-appointment was unanimously recommended by the General Committee.' Well, I am thankful I had not to choose: I durst not; but I *will* dare to accept this decision as the voice of Providence. When I got back to the College I had such an ovation from the students as I never had in my life before—bells being rung all over the place, &c. &c. It is deeply humbling to see how kindly they all receive the decision. May God make me more thankful for His abounding mercies!"

Mr. Moulton was ordained at the Conference of 1862 in Camborne, and among those who joined the President—the Rev. Charles Prest—in this solemn service, and whose hands were laid upon the head of the candidate, was Mr. Moulton's father. But ordination, which in the case of the average man in the Methodist ministry marks his emancipation from tutelage and examinations, and his admission into the full privileges and responsibilities of the brotherhood, made little or no alteration in Mr. Moulton's position at Richmond. Although he had for his first four years at the College been a probationer, subject to precisely the same discipline and training as other probationers, it had never occurred to those around him to regard him as such, except when engaged in solemnly supervising him at his yearly examinations—a situation the humour of which would certainly not be lost upon Mr. Hellier, for one. His attainments, his character, his easy and natural modesty had all resulted in his being

received on equal terms by all his colleagues, so much his seniors, and ordination, in that direction, could confer nothing upon him beyond, perhaps, a share in the administration of the College.

Of the years that followed no consecutive narrative can be given. The dictum "Happy is the nation that has no history" has an element of truth in it also when applied to private life, and to a man of Mr. Moulton's tastes it was no privation to be far from the excitements of publicity. Supremely happy in his home and in his work, he desired nothing better than to stay at home and work with and for his students. All the week he taught, along the lines of the varied curriculum sketched above; twice, at least, every Sunday he preached, sometimes walking more than twenty miles for his appointments, owing to his unwillingness to lose Saturday evening and Monday morning for work, and a still greater unwillingness to use the railway on Sunday.

With what a sense of solemn responsibility he viewed his duties, and how earnestly he strove to bring home to his men their responsibility and duty, not so much to their tutors as to their Church and their God, is revealed with great vividness in an address which he wrote for the Jubilee celebration in connection with another of the Wesleyan Colleges—at Didsbury, near Manchester—and which although written nearly twenty years after he left Richmond, nevertheless embodies the ideals and gives expression to the desires of that period of his life. Owing to illness the address was never delivered.

"Here the newly welcomed brother, who too often has had to snatch knowledge as he could as he passed along the road of life, found for the first time that the privilege of learning was his sacred duty, opened his mind to understand by degrees

how wide was the realm of knowledge, how holy were the fruits if plucked by hallowed hands. Where the response to the Church's action was fully made, there awoke an eager desire for sacred learning. The zeal of the Lord's house consumed the follower of the Lord. Unspeakably sad has it been when men have been blind to privileges offered, and have slighted the gifts held out in the belief that wide knowledge is not needed for the minister of God. Varied must be the talents, diversified the special capacities of those whom the Church calls, recognising in its firm conviction the higher call from above. But may the Church we love ever exercise the power of banishing every idler, every careless man from the courts in which is sought fitness to do the service of the sanctuary!"

In another passage in the same address he makes a powerful plea for wide culture and earnest study as invaluable elements in the usefulness of the Christian minister. During those twenty years he had been brought into contact—partly through his responsibility for the examination of "preachers on trial" for the ministry—with some men who were disposed to undervalue such aids, and express irritation at being compelled to give to study time which might otherwise have been given to what they called "religious work." This heresy he always earnestly strove to eradicate. No man formed a more generous estimate of the homely, untutored genius of men like the late Rev. Peter Mackenzie, but he would be no party to encouraging others to deviate through idleness into what with Mr. Mackenzie was natural and inevitable:

"The man who is absorbed in work, for whom to live as a Christian is well-nigh all that is possible, may—if he must—content himself with the few great Christian doctrines, feeding, living, growing upon simple food. But those who may and

can, *must* advance Christian thought. God has bound the world in a unity, set one thing over against another. The growth of knowledge of all kinds conditions and guides the advance of biblical and theological knowledge. There is a sense, well known to every one, in which the truth has been once and for all delivered to us. We shall no more change our fundamental views of truth than we shall alter our alphabet. But the completeness of divine truth will be brought to view by the completing of all surrounding truth. No scientific discovery, no historic discovery can be without its effect. A majestic temple is rising to the glory of God, its Architect and Builder. He alone knows its plan, though the great outlines were long since revealed, and have been wonderingly gazed on by multitudes. Where it is incomplete He only knows. He has servants who are the builders of His house. Not with their own materials. They have tried this. The perfection of the form has been for a time marred by the specious constructions which have hidden the true outline. But a divine power has ejected the human accretion which has remained long enough to reveal its earthly source. Meanwhile a wealth of material is being brought in, now here, now there, sometimes in small portions, minute fragments, sometimes in great masses. The material comes by the living force implanted by Him whose eye is ever on His house. The builders are learning their lesson better day by day. It is theirs to take what He gives, not to question or doubt, not to reject what seems inappropriate in form or character. Each portion supplied has its fit place. Where is that place? Here something has been piously, though mistakenly, put in, which on trial yields and comes out, so that the opening reveals the fit place for a living stone of truth. It is God's building! Ye are God's fellow workers!"

Although the above formed part rather of an address for a reunion than a sermon, it is nevertheless characteristic of his manner of exposition in the pulpit. He loved thus to play round the pregnant sayings of Apostle or Evangelist, adopting their figures and extending their applications to present and personal needs. Thus, on this occasion, after revealing all that lay hid in Paul's image of the buildings, casting aside image and parable, he addressed himself to the living duty and responsibility of those before him :

"Ye can do nothing against the truth but for the truth. Against the truth we may work, and we may delay the hour when the truth shall become visible, delay the blessed revelation to this or that beholder. But our efforts, however well-intentioned, in their blindness will fail—thank God for that. Morning and evening let us offer our thanksgiving that our blundering cannot defeat God's end. But in our thanksgiving let us work with fear and trembling. We may defraud our brother of his due : we may show a distorted image to the friend closest at hand. All will be set right, save the injury to the brother defrauded, the injury to ourselves if it is through pride or prejudice or wilfulness or conceit that we have missed our work. *For* the truth, oh how much may we do ! To bring forward the day in which truth—some new fragment of truth which being deftly inserted may reveal the exquisite symmetry of truth—may be seen and acknowledged. To take away barriers which have prevented less favoured brethren from catching the right view. To open a glimpse of some part of the magnificent fabric, not before clearly seen. . . . All true knowledge is from above. Let us train ourselves to receive all knowledge. Let us resolutely sever knowledge supplied from the motives, lives, faults of those who furnish it. Let

us never work in fear or panic, except the fear of personal unfaithfulness. Let the virulence of the assault led by those who 'think they know' cause us to redouble our energy. Let us seek to learn rather than to controvert, but let controversy be in love. Let all work of searching, guarding, resisting be ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν Χριστῷ. Let us examine all our views of truth; mingled with the true and the unchangeable may be something of the unreal and the perishable."

This last paragraph is wonderfully characteristic of his disposition. He never feared the Higher Criticism, for his faith told him that God's Word would stand it all—and more.

In this Richmond life there were, for all its quietness, some incidents which call for notice, one of them being a railway accident under specially pathetic circumstances. He was on his way from Richmond to Cambridge to attend his father's funeral, and no small alarm was caused by his non-appearance. The following letter to his step-mother tells the whole story:

"*July* 2, 1866.

"I earnestly wish I had asked you to telegraph this evening to say how you are: I feel so much anxiety and doubt. This has been a day never to be forgotten by any of us. Its own mournful duty was enough to give it this character: it is very sad that so much has been added to this, to increase the trouble which already was too great. When you would first hear of our accident and what the first news would be are questions that continually present themselves. I left King's Cross this morning at half-past nine, reached Hitchin at 10.15, and was due at Cambridge at 11.10. About half an hour after leaving Hitchin, without warning, the carriages began to jolt violently and to jump rather than roll along, and the air was positively darkened by showers

of earth : it was like the sudden outburst of a terrible storm. That there was something seriously wrong was clear at once, but what, there was no means of knowing. The suspense of those awful seconds, when it seemed impossible to do anything but hold one's breath and wait, I shall never forget. The carriages were soon brought to a stand-still by ploughing up the ground, and all of us rushed to the doors. The first object we saw was the engine lying on its side in a field and turned the opposite way to that in which we had been travelling. The rails, we found, at some distance from the spot of the accident, were in a very bad state, badly joined and ballasted. The engine had left the rails, had turned over a break-van next to it in which were several railway workmen, and then had fallen over into the adjoining field. Had not the coupling-chains broken, it is fearful to think what might have resulted. The actual result was very sad. One of the men on the engine was killed on the spot : the other lingered about a quarter of an hour. No other lives were lost, thank God ! but seven of the workmen were badly (though I trust not dangerously) injured. Poor fellows ! they bore their sufferings nobly. I wish I had time to write a full description of all that followed : it will never be effaced from my memory. I felt quite helpless through inability to telegraph. I saw it would be of no use to think of going on : the mournful duties for which I had come would be performed long before I could reach you : I could not have arrived until after three. My dread was lest the news should in any way reach H. . . . As it was, I only just saved this catastrophe. She was in the town this afternoon, and was just going into the station to procure a time-table when I met her. She would almost certainly have bought an evening paper, and the *Evening Standard* had a paragraph headed 'Accident on the Great Northern Railway.' . . . Ah ! what cause of

thankfulness have I! I felt ashamed and humbled that there was so little feeling of gratitude in my heart, when I perceived from what peril I had been so mercifully delivered. A clergyman amongst the passengers read a most appropriate selection of prayers (some from the Burial Service, some from the Office for the Sick, and the General Thanksgiving). God grant we all may show our gratitude in our lives! From Royston I rode in a dog-cart to Hitchin, paying £1 for the journey of fourteen miles. I reached home soon after five and was able to break the news to H. . . ."

Strange to say, this accident, though sufficiently alarming at the time, gave him no fear of railway travelling, and when, some twenty-five years later, frequent journeys to London became necessary, it was by the Great Northern route, in preference to the Great Eastern, that he invariably travelled, although it landed him further from his usual destination, the Mission House. One effect of the accident and only one remained. At thirty-one his hair was grey.

If it were asked what Mr. Moulton was thinking about during these Richmond years, it would not be conveying a false impression to reply—the Bible, nothing more. It was, indeed, Biblical work, in one form or another, which practically received all his serious thought; and throughout his life, notwithstanding the remarkable breadth of his interests, and his intimate acquaintance with almost every branch of scholarship, no work ever went forth from his pen that was not concerned with the Bible in one phase or other. Of these works the one by which Mr. Moulton was chiefly known and which first revealed him as an independent scholar of conspicuous ability, was his edition of Winer's "Grammar of

New Testament Greek."* In the course of his Bible studies he had been greatly impressed by the want of a reliable and scholarly work on New Testament Greek in the English language. It is very doubtful whether this at all embarrassed him personally, for he had an excellent knowledge of German, and could use Winer in the original, but for the English reader there was only Masson's translation, which was felt by all scholars to be very unsatisfactory. So strongly was he impressed with this want that he wrote to Mr. Ellicott—now Bishop of Gloucester, then Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge—on the subject, for Mr. Ellicott had recently published commentaries on the Epistles to the Galatians and the Ephesians which had attracted very considerable notice, and if any man was likely to know of the existence of works on New Testament Greek it was he. For months no reply came, and Mr. Moulton reproached himself for having thus intruded—he a young and unknown man—upon a man in Mr. Ellicott's position. Then a reply came, full of apologies for delay, full of guidance and light upon the particular difficulties which Mr. Moulton had raised, and the correspondence thus opened became steady and intimate. Mr. Ellicott discerned in his young correspondent—for when this acquaintance first began Mr. Moulton could not have been more than twenty-four or twenty-five years of age—a scholar of remarkable discernment and promise, and Mr. Moulton was encouraged beyond measure by the kindly interest of his distinguished friend, who, in 1863, was appointed Bishop of the then undivided See of Gloucester and Bristol. In the course of

* It has been thought most convenient to reserve the critical treatment of all Dr. Moulton's Biblical work to be given in a chapter by itself, by one better fitted to form an estimate of his father's results. Here his work in this field will only be regarded as one of many episodes in his life.

this correspondence, Mr. Ellicott had admitted that he had at one time hoped to translate Winer himself, and bring it up to the requirements of modern students, but that the other claims upon his time were so numerous and imperative that he felt that the idea must be abandoned. Yet the work ought to be done: would Mr. Moulton undertake it?

The work thus started remained to be the first charge upon Mr. Moulton's attention—after, of course, the performance of his tutorial duties—up to 1870, when it was published. Were this merely a translation of a German book, the time spent upon it might well be considered excessive; but those who know Mr. Moulton's edition will not require to be told that it is very far from being a mere translation, and those competent to judge in such matters have declared the notes, &c., contributed by the translator to be equal in value to the body of the work. By the Reviews the book was almost uniformly well received, the significance of the *almost* being clear from what will follow later. As typical of the prevailing view as to the work a few lines may be quoted from the review in the *British Quarterly*, then in the able hands of Dr. Allon and Dr. H. R. Reynolds.

"Messrs. Clark are often exceedingly happy in the date of their publications, and this is specially the case in reference to the present volume. Now that the necessity for revising our Authorised Version of Scripture has taken such firm hold of public attention, nothing could have been more desirable than that the standard work of Winer should be easily, and in the most satisfactory form, accessible to all Biblical students in our country. This *desideratum* is admirably supplied by the work now before us. Mr. Moulton has succeeded in conveying very clearly and accurately the meaning of the original to English readers—in many passages a far from easy task. But he has done much more than simply give a good translation of Winer. Though the *Grammatik* has long been recognised as the most scientific and

exhaustive treatise on the Grammar of the New Testament in any language, we have only to remember that the sixth and last edition* was published as long ago as 1855, to feel that it must in several respects be below the present standard of Biblical knowledge. But by the large additions which in the shape of notes Mr. Moulton has made to the original, everything lacking has been supplied. The work, indeed, reflects the greatest credit on Mr. Moulton both as translator and editor, and bears equal evidence of his learning and judgment. As constant though cautious use must be made of Winer in that authoritative revision of the English New Testament which cannot be much longer deferred, we rejoice to be able to point to this work as presenting a thoroughly good translation of the German treatise, and at the same time containing much valuable original matter."

The one discordant note was struck by the *Athenæum*, which contained a review so full of vulgar abuse and mean insinuations that no explanation save that of personal vindictiveness seems admissible, and that is the more strange in face of the fact that the reviewer and his victim had not then—and never had afterwards, I believe—any personal acquaintance with each other. But whatever was the motive there was no mistaking the virulence of the attack.

"The translator's notes seem to be of small value; he cannot distinguish good scholars, whose authority is worthy of respect, from those who should not be quoted. He properly refers to Dr. Donaldson: why to Dean Alford and Bishop Ellicott? . . . The translation as a whole is scarcely satisfactory because the author does not always understand the original, and takes liberties with it which we do not approve. . . . We regret that the translation should have fallen into the hands of one who seems to be but a crude scholar. . . . Trifling observations only increase the size of the volume."

* Last during Winer's lifetime The seventh was published after his death by Dr. Lünemann.

To this ill-natured and most unfair attack Dr. Geden replied in the *Watchman* with great warmth and at great length, showing conclusively that the reviewer had not taken the trouble to read the Preface in which Mr. Moulton answered beforehand the objections that he brought. In the *Athenæum*, on his own account, Mr. Moulton replied to the attack in a characteristically calm letter.

To the Editor of the Athenæum.

"Richmond, *May* 16, 1870.

"Sir,—I appeal to your sense of justice to reply to some remarks contained in your number of May 14 in a review of my translation of Winer's Grammar.

"Your reviewer after mentioning that the translation is not made from the last edition published in 1867 after Winer's death, asks, 'Why was a prior one chosen? Did the translator not know it?' If he had read my Preface he would have learned that I had carefully examined Dr. Lünemann's edition and had good reasons for not using it. Your reviewer finds fault with me for omitting to notice a change of opinion on the part of Tischendorf, and to inform the reader that his 'seventh edition has what Winer thinks the right thing.' The critic has himself overlooked the fact that Tischendorf has *again* altered his view, and has in his eighth edition returned to the reading of which Winer is speaking.

"As the remaining strictures in the review relate to matters of opinion rather than of fact, I have no right to refer to them in these columns.

"W. F. Moulton."

He could afford to possess his soul in peace, even in spite of the *Athenæum*, for from all those for whose good opinion

he cared most he received cordial appreciation, among them being Bishop Ellicott, Dr. Plumptre, Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Barry, and Dr. F. W. Gotch. The letter from the last-named —who afterwards was invited to join the Old Testament Revision Committee—may be quoted:

"BRISTOL, *May* 30, 1870.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am reminded by two circumstances of my negligence in not having acknowledged before your kindness in forwarding to me a copy of your very valuable translation of Winer's Grammar. One is the notices of it in the *Athenæum* which I hope will not disturb you. The assumption of infallibility which marks them indicates clearly enough the writer. Dr. Davidson * has changed his printed opinions more frequently than any critic that could be named, and yet for the time they have been beyond all question. He is always in the right. The other is that I find your name included in the Revision Committee of the A. V., and I heartily congratulate you thereon.

"I have tested your translation by comparing it with many passages I had marked long ago in Masson's translation, and I have found in every instance that you have corrected his blunders. I cannot help wishing that you had warned young scholars against Masson's book. It was a disgrace to the publishers, from which you have amply relieved them, and it would have been only justice to yourself to claim that credit.

"Yours very sincerely,

"F. W. GOTCH."

"Rev. W. F. MOULTON."

But Mr. Moulton had his revenge upon his critic—a revenge such as his soul loved. Many years after, when the critic had fallen upon evil times and his victim was held in honour by many of the great and wise of all communions, Dr. Moulton's name appeared with others at the foot of a petition to the First Lord of the Treasury—at that time

* The late Dr. Samuel Davidson, the writer of the *Athenæum* review.

Mr. Gladstone—praying that a Civil Service Pension should be granted to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Davidson, on account of his services to Biblical criticism. This was granted in 1893.

Winer once out of hand, Mr. Moulton turned to another very similar task, the preparation of an Expositor's Greek Testament. The correspondence with the publishers and with Bishop Ellicott shows how high an estimate had been formed of his ability by workers in that field of learning. The work, however, came to nothing for reasons which will soon be obvious, but one or two of the letters that passed are worthy of notice:

"*March* 28 [1870].

"My dear Sir,—After a careful consideration of the proposal contained in your note of the 2nd inst. I have resolved to attempt the work. I think I mentioned to you that I called on Dr. Angus about a fortnight since, and had some conversation with him on the subject of his letters to you. . . . I have since sought advice in one or two quarters in regard to the existence of the want of which Dr. A. spoke and the general possibility of the scheme. Bishop Ellicott's I enclose in copy. (It goes beyond the subject on which I had written, but you will, I have no doubt, be interested in the latest news on the 'Revision' question.) The Bishop very kindly offers further counsel, though I had, of course, merely asked his opinion as to the desirableness of undertaking the work.

"The plan naturally embraces the formation of a critical text, and the preparation of critical, grammatical and exegetical notes. The text in the body of the page will be the Textus Receptus: below this, or in the margin, will stand the readings which are preferred to those in the text. Below these must stand the authorities for the changes made; besides referring to MSS. versions and patristic quotations,

it will be desirable to specify which of our leading editors agree in the reading adopted. The notes will occupy the lowest part of the page. They should give *results* throughout, with an abstract of the chief arguments *pro* and *con* in controverted passages, and systematic references to the chief helps possessed by the student (grammars, dictionaries, &c.). It will only be by means of great care in condensation that the work can be brought within the compass of an octavo volume, even of good size. The references will help towards economising space, but it will not do to make the student entirely dependent on the possession of the work to which reference is made: general results must be given throughout. . . . I feel that the amount of labour involved in carrying out this scheme will be extremely great. If the work is to be worth anything, there must be the working of an independent judgment from beginning to end, and you know even better than I do that pains and time—out of proportion to the apparent result—are required for this. . . . As to terms, I should very much prefer your suggesting what seems reasonable to you.—With very kind regards,

"I remain, my dear sir,

"Yours most truly,

"T. Clark, Esq." "Wm. F. Moulton."

Writing again a few months later, he says:

"Now as to the Greek Testament. You will remember that the arrangement was that a specimen page should be circulated some time about September. I should be very glad if you would kindly consent to delay this for a time. Since we spoke of this last, the work of Revision has come upon me, and I need not say has occupied very much time. I do not think anything could have been more serviceable for the work I have undertaken (the Greek Testament) than

the Revision work. I shall be able to make all preparations for the one serve for the other also; and I am sure the ultimate advantage which your undertaking will reap will be very great. I feel, however, that I ought to wait a little before committing myself to anything like a specimen. The whole of my time will be given up to the two undertakings, which as I have said are really one, and I hope before long to be able to tell you of considerable progress in direct preparation for the Greek Testament. I merely wish to say December or January instead of September."

Bishop Ellicott's, referred to above, is interesting on several grounds:

"I just find your welcome note. I at once answer it, though shortly, by strongly advising you to undertake the work. Dean Alford's volume is very deficient. I quite agree as to the Textus Receptus being the edition from which to vary. I will gladly look over with you, when you get a chapter or two done, the work in MS., and give you the best hints I am able. If I had not been the hardworked man I am I should have myself tried my hand at this. I therefore really feel a kind of personal pleasure in encouraging you to undertake it. I go down, till a fortnight after Easter, next week. After Easter I shall be quite at your disposal for conference. Perhaps by that time you will have broken a little ground.

"I am delighted to tell you that our Revision matters are going on famously. A large Committee of Convocation met to-day—Bishop of Winchester in the chair. We agreed to recommend that Revision be attempted and that Convocation appoint a Committee to attempt the work, who are to recruit themselves with scholars, without any reference to religious opinions. I thus have very great hope that ere very long we shall have the pleasure of welcoming you to the common board. The Government will not hear of a Royal Commission, but will not at all obstruct Convocation taking—as it now will be compelled to do—the initiative."

The several references already made to the Revision of the New Testament bring us to the threshold of one of the most important undertakings of Dr. Moulton's life, and one that was equally far-reaching in its effect upon his public career and his private friendships.

CHAPTER III

NEW TESTAMENT REVISION

That so much attention should be given here to the question of the Revision of the Authorised Version of the New Testament Scriptures will surprise no one who knew Dr. Moulton intimately. So close was his connection with the work and his fellow workers upon it, and so jealously did he defend it against all assaults, that to have done otherwise would have been to give a most imperfect representation of his life and ideas. The genesis of the impulse towards Revision need not be sought for here : it is sufficient to note that in the early part of 1870 the matter was brought before the Upper House of Convocation for the Province of Canterbury by the Bishop of Winchester. It is not unjust to Dr. Wilberforce to say that the position which he occupied on that occasion was that of the spokesman of others rather than that of a man moving in obedience to his own convictions. He had enough scholarship to appreciate the arguments of others, but his own pre-eminent strength lay in wholly different directions. He had a remarkable, almost a unique hold upon the country, and those who were earnestly bent upon Revision were glad to secure as their champion one whose words would carry so great weight outside. His motion for the appointment of a committee was seconded by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott), who had from

the first been the prime mover in the matter, and who, owing to his knowledge of the subject, was mainly engaged in selecting the scholars who were proposed to Convocation as the future Revisers. Among the original resolutions of the committee appointed by Convocation were the following :

III. That the Company for the Revision of the Authorised Version of the New Testament consist of the Bishops of Winchester, Gloucester and Bristol, and Salisbury [Wilberforce, Ellicott, and Moberly] and of the following members from the Lower House : the Prolocutor of Convocation [Bickersteth], the Deans of Canterbury and Westminster [Alford and Stanley] and Canon Blakesley.

IV. That the following scholars and divines be invited to join the New Testament Company :

Dr. Angus.	Professor Moulton.
The Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. R. C. Trench).	Dr. J. H. Newman.
Dr. Eadie.	Professor Newth.
Rev. F. J. A. Hort.	Dr. A. Roberts.
Rev. W. G. Humphry.	Rev. G. Vance Smith.
Canon Kennedy.	Dr. Scott.
Archdeacon Lee.	Rev. F. H. A. Scrivener.
Dr. Lightfoot.	Dr. Vaughan.
Professor Milligan.	Canon Westcott.
	Dr. Tregelles.

Of these Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman declined the work in a friendly letter to Dr. Ellicott, and Dr. Tregelles also drew back. On the other hand, invitations were afterwards sent to and accepted by Archdeacon Palmer, Dr. David Brown, the Bishop of St. Andrews (Christopher Wordsworth), and Dean Merivale.

The proposal to revise the Authorised Version was received in the country with very various feelings, and it must be admitted that for every one who thankfully welcomed the prospect of a version more truly representing the original

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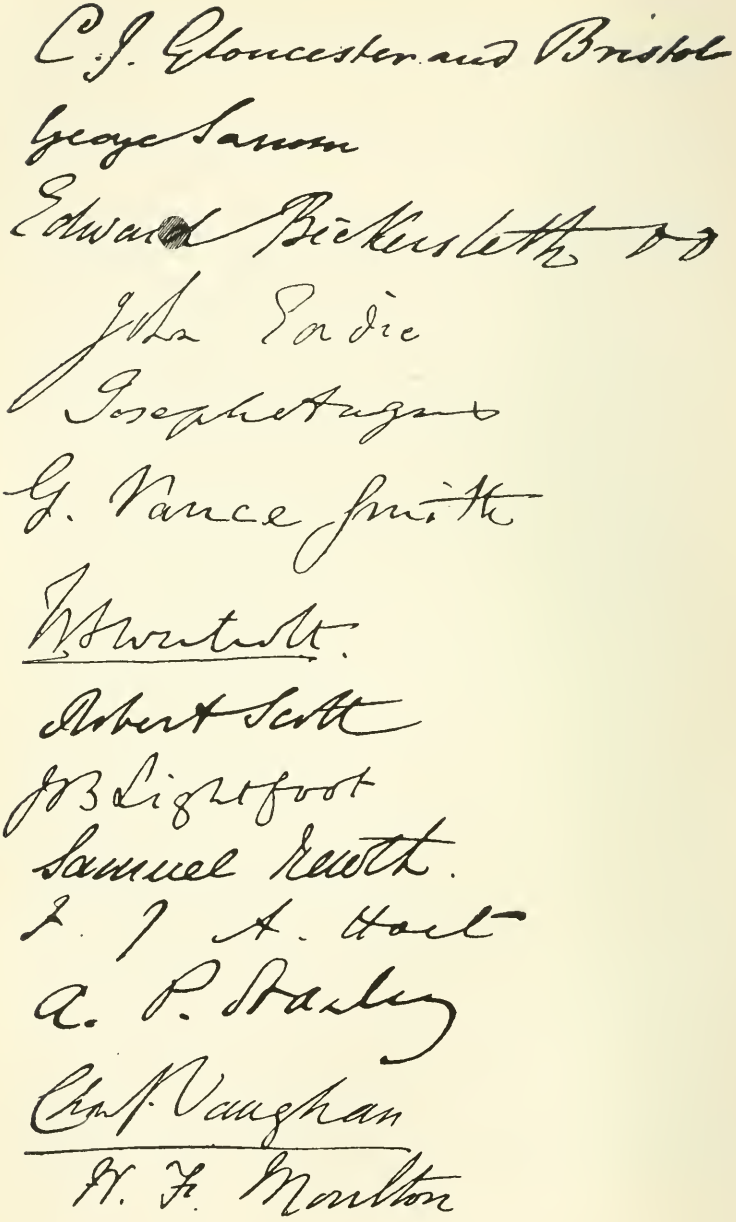

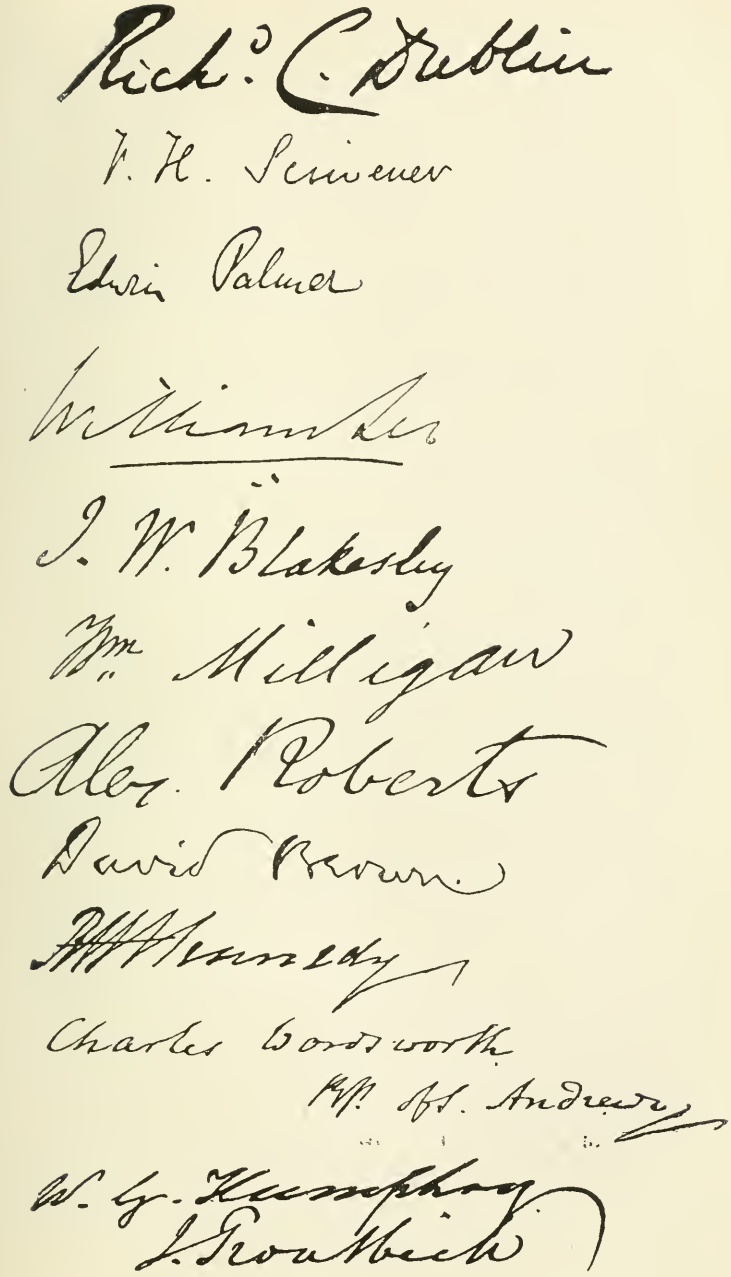

and the meaning of the writers, there would be ten who would view with suspicion or indignation such "tampering with God's Word," or, at best, regarded the matter with indifference, and considered the benefits to be not great enough to warrant the efforts necessary for their attainment. It would be useless to try to enumerate the various pleas brought forward against the project: a very slight knowledge of human nature will enable the reader to imagine what they were bound to be, in the nature of the case, while the "critical" indictment against the Revisers—*e.g.*, the lucubrations of Dean Burgon—is dealt with elsewhere. One plea calls for notice here, partly because of its complete falsification in fact—the fear that in some way or other it would emphasise the division in the Churches. It is amusing—or is it pathetic?—to note how various were the forms that this idea took in different minds. The Nonconformists made it very clear that a version prepared exclusively by Anglicans would be received with suspicion, and there is no reason to believe that such a scheme was ever entertained. The *Methodist Recorder* (then edited by Dr. Punshon and Mr. Wiseman), a fairly typical religious newspaper, was perfectly content with the Authorised Version, and saw in its imagination horrible struggles of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Anglicans to impress their own particular notions upon the translation. And on the top of them all came Archdeacon Denison, who after his own characteristic and vigorous manner declared at Cambridge that he would have nothing to do with a work that was the joint product of the efforts of schismatics, heretics and infidels—presumably Mr. Moulton, a Wesleyan; Dr. Angus, a Baptist; and Mr. Vance Smith, a Unitarian.

This same attitude towards the proposed Revision finds yet more explicit expression in the letter in which Canon

Jebb declined to take part in the work—a letter which he afterwards sent to the public press. After expressing his conviction that in the Authorised Version we possessed the most perfect ever known in the Church of God, he proceeded along a line of argument which few men would have the audacity to use, in public, to-day :

"Besides this I am fully persuaded that this most religious work ought not to have been committed by Convocation to any but members of the Church of England ; and according to the almost invariable precedents of past time to her ordained ministers—those to whom the keeping and interpretation of God's Word is specially intrusted, according to the will, as I believe, of Christ Himself. . . . And now I perceive, with great grief and alarm, the fulfilment of that which I apprehended from the beginning—that is, the establishment of a virtual equality, in the prosecution of a matter so very sacred, between the members of our Church and those extern to her communion. It seems to be in effect declared that her maintenance of true Catholic doctrine, by which I mean the faith once delivered to the Saints, has no necessary connection with sacred philology, which is an essential element of exegesis. I can hardly hope for God's blessing upon the adoption of a version, should that ever come to completion, constituted upon principles so repugnant to the ancient methods of the Church."

For sheer intolerance this would be hard to beat.

The fear, however, as to the possibility of a disintegrating influence being generated was not altogether absent from the minds of others than newspaper editors, as is shown by the following letter from one who was afterwards a Reviser, and one most closely associated with that field of study :

"St. Gerrans Rectory, Grampound,
"*February* 17, 1870.

"Dear Sir,—I hardly know how to thank you enough for your kind present of the new translation of Winer, which I shall value

very highly on your account. I am glad if my labours have been of use to you in your Biblical studies.

"I am afraid that the Bishop of Winchester is hardly aware of the difficulties practically attending a revision even of the N. T. portion of our English version of Scripture; but it is an object we could all wish to accomplish if it were possible without adding one more to our sad divisions.

"Believe me,

"Yours truly obliged,

"F. H. SCRIVENER."

"The Rev. W. F. MOULTON."

How earnestly Mr. Moulton desired that the Revised Version should be received without prejudice, on its own merits in the interests of truth, may be seen in a lengthy letter which he wrote to the Rev. C. O. Eldridge, who was preparing some lectures on the subject, and who applied to him for some information:

"HELENSBURGH, *April* 15, 1875.

"DEAR MR. ELDRIDGE,— . . . Let me say how pleased I am that you are taking up the subject. It is most desirable that this work of preparation should go on. Do not give your audience the impression that the changes will be *few*. There is no doubt that the number will be great, but many alterations will be detected only by actual comparison. Rendered necessary by consistency or faithfulness—real improvements as we trust—these changes will not be observed by the hearer, unless he be minutely acquainted with the Authorised Version. Of course there will be changes which all will observe at once, but the number of these will be much smaller

"There is one class of changes which will be of the greatest importance in the *New* Testament, but will be found in the New Testament only: I refer to those which result from changes in the original text. This part of the subject it

is difficult to make perfectly plain to an ordinary audience, but it is of the greatest moment. Have you seen the second edition of Westcott's 'History of the English Bible'? In a note added to his Preface he (the highest authority on such a subject) expresses the firmest conviction that at no previous revision has the original text been so carefully and candidly examined. I am doing injustice to his words in speaking of a 'conviction.' The science of textual criticism did not exist in 1611, and therefore we can hardly institute a comparison. Dr. Westcott's words are most valuable as bearing testimony to the carefulness with which this subject is treated in our Company. Many of the most startling changes will result from the necessary alterations in the Greek text—alterations required on all principles of evidence. We are fortunate in having very able representatives of different schools of textual criticism on our Company. Whilst, however, the actual number of changes will be great there is the strongest desire to retain the same character of language and style—to change, not by the introduction of modernisms, but in such a way (wherever possible) as the Revisers of 1611 would have changed had they wished to express our views. . . . I do not think the N. T. can be finished earlier than 1879. The greater portion of the O. T. is easier, but some parts will be found extremely difficult. I should not wonder if the *finale* were as late as 1881.

"There is no reason to fear an ecclesiastical tinge. The closeness of our union, the freedom from all stiffness, is very remarkable: in this there is cause for the most devout thankfulness. I have hardly, if ever, known an instance in all our deliberations in which the prejudices of a single member can be said to have prevailed over his scholarship. Of course there are points in which scholarship is in doubt:

where two opinions are possible from the mere scholar's point of view, a man's opinion will naturally coincide with his ecclesiastical leanings, if they can touch the questions. As to the result, however, I think there need be no fear.

"I have not the power to speak about particular passages. As we have as yet no results—for the first revision is purely provisional, and much will be altered at our second revision—we are most anxious to keep from the public all immature statements. You will see the wisdom of this course, and that I am absolutely bound. . . . I am writing in haste,

"Yours affectionately,

"Wm. F. Moulton.

"Rev. C. O. Eldridge, B.A.

"P.S.—You will see that the really *conservative* and cautious policy is not to make so few changes that another revision will be called for in a few years, but to try to do the work thoroughly and set the matter at rest for a considerable time."

Feeling as he did about the work, it will be easily understood that his anger burned against those who, in public or in private, attacked or belittled it. He was not easily moved to indignation, but one of the things which would always rouse him was a reference to Spurgeon's very shallow criticism, viz., that the Revisers may have had a thorough knowledge of Greek, but that they did not know English. On one occasion a distinguished prelate of the Established Church, who had at a dinner-party given expression to that criticism, forgetting that he was speaking to a Reviser, was quietly but severely dealt with—to the amusement of the other guests, who had designedly led the Bishop into the trap. To Dr. Moulton any such light words seemed to betray a want of appreciation of the unique character of the

Bible, which demanded that first and foremost there should be an absolute and unswerving fidelity to truth, at all costs. And when it came to specific cases where, as in the first verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the new version did not possess the sonorous majesty of the old, he was always ready to prove that the change was not due to pedantry, but that it revealed more distinctly the teaching of the passage.

His jealousy for the honour of the Revised Version was shared by his fellow Revisers, and the savage attacks made by Dean Burgon in the *Quarterly Review* stirred within them much indignation, and at times caused them considerable anxiety. The grounds of that attack are dealt with in a later chapter, but the fact belongs to this narrative. Dr. Moulton was perhaps unduly sanguine as to the speedy success of the work; and its comparatively slow progress, the bitter attacks from its enemies, and the seeming indifference of the nation as a whole, depressed him greatly. Dr. Ellicott was less hopeful of immediate victory over ignorance and prejudice, and he gave it as his own personal opinion that twenty-five years would pass before the new version would come to be recognised as *the* version. Recent proceedings in Convocation suggest that the Bishop's estimate may not prove very wide of the mark. Writing to Dr. Moulton in December 1881 he says:

"I do, indeed, feel greatly your kindness in sending me the third edition of your admirable book [Winer]. I use it exclusively, and make from it all my references (I am *slowly*, alas! doing 1 Corinthians) and feel proud by your kindness to be connected with so accurate a work.

"Our great undertaking is doing well, but the 36,000 corrections tell against us with many. I doubt if it will be regularly used in public in the Church of England at least in my time, but this I never expected. In the future truth must prevail over prejudice.

No words can express my utter contempt for Burgon's *Quarterly Review* article."

Two months later he again writes:

"My dear Dr. Moulton,—I thank you particularly for sending me the summary.* I know its importance, and watched with interest the discussion when the Revised Version was adopted as the source for quotations.

"I am not easy about that first shameless review in the *Quarterly*. It has produced far more effect in the provinces than you, living in the higher atmosphere of the Universities, might think. It has not convinced, but it has made men doubtful. Archdeacon Palmer, Dean Scott, and our Oxford Press friends think it ought to be answered by a counter-article (say in the *Edinburgh*). I rather agree. Dr. Hort, however, and—I believe—also the Bishop of Durham [Lightfoot], think otherwise. At present, at any rate, we are not making much way.

"Very faithfully yours,

"C. J. Gloucester and Bristol."

How keenly Dr. Moulton felt the injustice of Dean Burgon's attack is seen from the following letter to Dr. Hort:

"The inclosed letters are interesting, and I should like you to see them soon; though very possibly you may by this time have heard from the writers. Bishop Lightfoot's is in answer to a letter which I had the presumption to write. Being obliged to intrude on his attention with Apocrypha matters I ventured to beg that he would write a few pages in reply to Dean Burgon's first article. I thought that he—well known as a textual critic and yet not, like yourself, directly assailed—could do more than others for the good cause.

* Summary of Christian Doctrine in form of Catechism, as used by the Wesleyans.

"I do very strongly hold that the article should be answered. I have thought so for several weeks, and Archdeacon Palmer's letter expresses exactly, I think, the conviction to which I have been brought. I care less for the second article. But there are so few who have really studied textual criticism that many well-disposed, intelligent, earnest readers are confounded as they follow Dean Burgon's audacious and apparently learned paragraphs. I think they will be badly used if the antidote is not supplied: how or by whom, it is very hard to suggest."

Side by side, however, with indignation there was present in Dr. Moulton's mind a degree of amusement as he watched the Dean at war with modern scholarship. He read with enjoyment a paragraph—in the *Leeds Mercury*, I believe—describing the lucubrations of the worthy ecclesiastic:

"A great deal of feeling has been excited, and has found expression in some newspapers, about the form in which the revised Bible is offered to the public. It appears to some that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have taken an unfair advantage of their monopoly to present to the public what it will undoubtedly buy with eagerness, in most inconvenient and needlessly expensive shape. But this annoyance is nothing to the indignation of Dean Burgon, who seems to consider it a personal insult to himself that the two Testaments are bound together. He writes to the *Guardian* last week in a fine frenzy. Why this phenomenon of 'a dead body lashed to a living one'? Is it not known to all the world that the doughty Dean has thrice slain the slain (in his own estimation) and for ever demolished the claims of the revised New Testament? How can any dare to consider that it possesses even a faint chance of life? In a series of what would be called in any one but a dignitary of the Church impudent assumptions, the Dean pours forth a goodly array of ecclesiastical Billingsgate. 'That most unfortunate production,' 'the grossest literary imposture of the age,' 'insufferable pedantry,' 'impertinent

priggishness,' these are but specimens of the flowers of language in which the Dean of Chichester allows himself to indulge in his fear lest his late assault upon the work of the New Testament Revisers should be seen to be what scholars already know it to be —utterly futile. The editor of the *Guardian* mildly remarks in an appended note, 'The Dean of Chichester speaks as a judge—in his own cause.' But not even in his own cause can Dr. Burgon speak as a judge: he speaks rather as an Old Bailey advocate."

The whimsicality of the situation evoked from Dr. Moulton a *jeu d'esprit* which was only written down under pressure from his wife, and which he little thought would ever appear in print: it gives, however, a side of his nature which is not over-represented in these pages.

"Who killed the New Version?"
"I," said the Dean:
"With my satire so keen,
I killed the New Version."

"Who saw it die?"
"I," said the *Quarterly*
(With the vision of prophecy),
"I saw it die."

"Who the death certified?"
"I," said the Doctor dread,
"Saw 'twas as good as dead:
I the death certified."

"And why did you kill it?"
"I abhor it, I do!
'Tis Dissenting! 'tis new!
And that's why I killed it."

"Who'll make its shroud?"
"Leaves of my book, I wis,
Amply suffice for this:
I'll make its shroud."

"Who'll toll the bell?"
"I," shouted Chichester,
"*I* will make sich a stir!
I'll toll the bell!"

"Who'll dig its grave?"
"I," said Burgonius,
With laughter demonious:
"*I've dug* its grave!"

"Who'll kill its mate?"
"I," said the same critic:
"With my vapour mephitic
I'll kill its mate!"

"And what will you do if the innocent fowl
Is nothing the worse
For the terrible curse?"
"Why, I'll write to the *Guardian* and—howl."

To Dr. Moulton the years spent upon the Revision remained, to the very last, amongst the most hallowed memories of his life, and the same is in all probability true of the other Revisers also. It is not too much to say that they all felt it to be a foretaste of that final "Reunion of the Churches," when differences would be seen to be infinitely small in the clear light of the Eternal City. So far from "our sad divisions" being thereby accentuated, as Dr. Scrivener feared would be the case, the Revision was a great power in promoting brotherliness and mutual understanding.

"In the precious work in which we are engaged together it is by no means the least point of thankfulness that we meet so many men who, though outwardly divided in communion, are of one heart and mind in love of our Lord and devotion to His Word. May He grant that what I believe to be deep and real inward communion may also lead to such outward communion as may lead 'the world to believe' in the divine mission of the Son." *

* Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Moberly) to Mr. Moulton, *Mar.* 15, 1873.

"To hear the word of God anxiously, seriously, and learnedly expounded in deep consultation by men of different minds and training would have been (and so far as I was present *was*) of more benefit to me than I can express. And I also feel that the companionship and brotherly feeling that, as far as I have seen, always reigned among us, was in itself a great blessing of God upon ourselves and our work. . . . The feeling of brotherhood remains and will surely never be lost." *

And to these testimonies of Bishop Moberly's may be added another from one, than whom no man has more right to speak, and whose words carry weight with men of all communions to-day—the Bishop of Durham :

"None of us can count up what he owes to the meetings in the Jerusalem Chamber. From the first I felt that the Revision itself would not be the greatest result of the gathering. May our common work be fruitful for each one of us, and for the whole Church in ways which we cannot yet foresee." †

In the light of such words as these surely Dr. Moulton was justified in claiming, as he did claim at a Home Reunion meeting at the Church House during the Lambeth Conference of 1897, that the meetings of the Revision Committee had proved a positive power in drawing Christian men nearer to each other and had effected some degree of practical Reunion work.

His edition of Winer and his part in the revision of the New Testament did much to bring Mr. Moulton to the front among Biblical students. At the Wesleyan Conference of 1872 he was elected to a place in the "Legal Hundred," in theory the Senate of Methodism. So far as practical power is concerned the members of the "Hundred" stand just where their other brethren stand, for their right to ratify

* Bishop of Salisbury to Dr. Moulton, *Dec.* 21, 1880.

† Prof. Westcott to Dr. Moulton, *Dec.* 20, 1880.

the acts of the Conference is only a formality; but the distinction is much coveted as being a sign of the confidence of the brotherhood, and I believe that Dr. Moulton and Dr. Punshon share the special distinction of having been the only ministers ever elected at the earliest possible age. He was nominated by the Rev. Dr. Osborn, the Theological Tutor at Richmond.

Two years later he received from the University of Edinburgh the degree of Doctor of Divinity, being the first Methodist minister upon whom any British University conferred that distinction.

In 1873 he applied for and obtained the vacant examinership at London University in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the Greek text of the New Testament, the Evidences of the Christian Religion and Scripture History, and the incident is of interest on account of the testimonials which he presented with his application, which show in a most unmistakable manner his position in the estimation of Biblical scholars. The list of names by itself is no mean tribute to the worth of the young Methodist minister of thirty-eight years of age, containing as it did those of the Bishops of Gloucester and Salisbury, the Deans of Westminster and Rochester, Dr. C. J. Vaughan, Dr. Westcott, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. B. H. Kennedy, Dr. Alfred Barry, Dr. E. H. Plumptre, F. J. A. Hort, F. A. Paley, Dr. Angus, and others. Some of the testimonials themselves may without impropriety be admitted here.

Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Lightfoot wrote:

"I should find it difficult to name any one more competent to undertake the work. The accuracy and thoroughness of his scholarship is marvellous, and to this he adds a fairness and patience of judgment in estimating the merits of men that will be invaluable in an examiner."

Dr. C. J. Vaughan wrote:

"No one can have been associated with him as I have been without forming a very high opinion both of his character and ability. The extent and accuracy of his learning, the readiness and persuasiveness of his speech, the singular justice and impartiality of his judgment, and the humility, delicacy, and courtesy of his dealings with others, are points in him which have won the esteem and respect of us all."

Two more testimonies from distinguished colleagues could not fail to carry weight:

"Deanery, Westminster.

"I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the qualifications of Professor Moulton for the office of Examiner in Scripture in the University of London. I have seen him constantly in the work of the revision of the Authorised Version, and have been always impressed by his exactness of knowledge, impartiality of judgment, as also by the modesty and moderation of his views.

"A. P. Stanley."

"*March* 21, 1872."

"Jerusalem Chamber,
"*March* 21.

"It is with much pleasure that I recommend my friend and colleague, Rev. W. F. Moulton, to the favourable consideration of the Senate of the University of London. Professor Moulton is a sound scholar, intimately acquainted with Scriptural exegesis, and in every respect highly qualified for the position which he is seeking. He is one of the most valuable members of our New Testament Company for the Revision of the Scriptures, and in his candidature will, I am sure, carry with him the good wishes of us all.

"C. J. Gloucester and Bristol."

I have left until last what is, especially in the light of future intercourse, the most interesting of all these tributes, that from the present Bishop of Durham, at that time Canon of

Peterborough and Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge:

"TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

"Professor Moulton informs me that he intends to offer himself as a candidate for a Scriptural Examinership in the University of London. It seems almost superfluous to add any testimony to that which the electors will have before them in Professor Moulton's edition of Winer's Grammar of the New Testament. The additions which he has made to that book must rank, as far as I can judge, equal to any work which has been done either in England or in Germany on the grammatical criticism of the New Testament, both for width of reading, and for delicacy and exactness of scholarship. But as it has been my privilege to be associated with Professor Moulton in the work of the revision of the New Testament, I may be allowed to add that the remarkable firmness and accuracy of criticism which that work exhibits in the region of grammar, extends also to Professor Moulton's treatment of questions of interpretation and textual criticism; and I believe that I express the opinion of the whole company of revisers in saying that no one has rendered more important services to the Revision than Professor Moulton. I should not speak of Professor Moulton's unwearied patience and devotion to labour, if these qualities were not necessary to a good examiner, and yet not always found in scholars of his power. Indeed, I can say without reserve that I should think the University of London fortunate in securing his assistance, and confidently believe that his influence would render most important services to the study of Holy Scripture in that body.

"BROOKE F. WESTCOTT, D.D."

Dr. Westcott's judgment was not at fault in this matter, for time only deepened and strengthened the qualities in Dr. Moulton which had evoked such warm praise while he was still a young man, and the beautiful appreciation which, twenty-five years later, the Bishop wrote of his departed friend was little else than the above testimonial illuminated

with a fuller knowledge and transfused with a deeper affection :

"What can I say? The last of those with whom I have been closely united in a great part of my life's work has been called away, and I, the oldest of them all, am left.

"It was my happiness to make Dr. Moulton's acquaintance in the revision of the New Testament in 1870. By a fortunate chance I sat next to him at our first meeting, and kept the same place during the whole work. He had already established his reputation by his masterly edition of Winer. Close and constant intercourse increased my admiration for his learning and scholarship, and to this was added a personal affection which has grown deeper through all the years that have followed.

"When the revision of the New Testament was completed in 1880 the revision of the books of the Apocrypha was assigned to second companies formed from the whole body of revisers. One of these to which 2 Maccabees and Wisdom was committed met at Cambridge, and from the spring of 1881 to the spring of 1890 Dr. Hort, Dr. Moulton, and myself—for we alone of the Company were able to meet—met week by week in Dr. Moulton's study at The Leys, and there are no hours on which I look back with more gratitude or which were more instructive.

"I have worked with other scholars whose attainments were as consummate as Dr. Moulton's, and who were bolder and more adventurous, but I have never known one more alert or of more balanced judgment. Dr. Moulton seemed to me to take an impartial account of every element in a critical problem, and to strive with unwearying patience to give it just weight. He had an eye for the truth from his single-mindedness, and I was always seriously unhappy when, on rare occasions, I was unable to accept his conclusions. If I may venture to mark one characteristic of Dr. Moulton which always touched me most deeply, it was his spirit of absolute self-sacrifice and self-forgetfulness. He was wholly unaffected by the thought of recognition or recompense. No labour was too great if he could contribute anything to the completeness of another's work. The sense of thoroughness in the work itself was his reward, though the workman was unnoticed.

It was in vain to protest, as I often did, against what I held to be an excess of care in the fulfilment of his share in our common task. He could not be satisfied with anything which he felt able to improve or to make more sure. One signal fruit of such loving, patient, and minute labour, in which even I could not blame his untiring and scrupulous care, will, I trust, soon enrich the student of Holy Scripture. About a fortnight ago he wrote to me, 'I hope in a few weeks to be able to tell you that the marginal references to the New Testament are complete. The Old Testament also (and Apocrypha) may be spoken of very hopefully.' Even in their original form these references were an invaluable commentary, and through them I believe that Dr. Moulton will lead many generations of students to recognise with a personal conviction the unity and the variety of the Bible. No memorial of his life could be more appropriate or, I think, more welcome to himself.

"I have been blessed beyond most men in my friends, and I reckon it among my greatest happinesses that I have numbered Dr. Moulton and Dr. Dale among them.*

"B. F. DUNELM."

Between these two expressions of esteem and affection there flowed twenty-five years of close and valued friendship. In 1875 Dr. Moulton's removal to Cambridge made the opportunities for intercourse more frequent, but Dr. Westcott's departure for Durham in 1890 did not cause any break in the intimacy, for he was one of the very few friends with whom Dr. Moulton carried on what might be called a correspondence. On New Year's Day, on Dr. Westcott's birthday, and on special occasions of various kinds Dr. Moulton would write to his friend, and the letters are full of the regard bred of perfect understanding and sympathy. Of these more will be said later, but one may be quoted here. On hearing of Dr. Westcott's appointment to Durham he wrote:

* *Methodist Times*, Feb. 10, 1898.

"BRIGHTON,
"*Mar.* 13, 1890.

"MY DEAR PROF. WESTCOTT,—I hope I am not wrong in clinging for a little to the old familiar designation. You will forgive me if I say that, to-day, the thought of any other makes me feel too keenly how much my world of the last twenty years has lost.

"The note which, with a kindness all your own, you sent last evening to The Leys did not reach me here until I had seen the morning papers with their one piece of overwhelming intelligence. I had ventured from the first to think of you as Dr. Lightfoot's successor; but I had been so positively assured (on what seemed almost the highest authority) that you had declined the offer, that all fear and trouble had passed away from my mind. But I have no right to write in this selfish strain, though it is impossible for me to say how deep is my sense of personal loss. That the needs of Durham are thus wisely and most generously met I have never doubted; but what help can come to Cambridge at this critical moment I cannot imagine.

"It is a great joy to think that you will be given up to no one See, but that the great Church of England will gain by our great loss. You will forgive me if I let my thoughts pass outside the boundary of that Church, and if I refer for a moment to my constant longing desire that, in some way, the real unity of very many who cannot show themselves externally united may be made manifest.

"The words I write seem to me as I write them very stiff and formal: they are the poor expression of deep feeling. It will be my daily prayer that you may be enabled to accomplish all that is in your heart for the Church and for the world.

"With renewed and warmest thanks for all the kindness and help of the last twenty years.

"I remain, dear Dr. Westcott,

"Yours affectionately and gratefully,

"Wm. F. Moulton."

"The Lord Bishop (designate) of Durham."

The Revision did much to make Dr. Moulton's reputation: it did even more to make his friendships.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAKING OF A SCHOOL

For several years previous to the final removal of University Tests in 1871, the question of higher education for the sons of Methodist laymen had been exercising the minds of some leading men in the Methodist Church. So far as it is possible to trace to its source a movement such as this it will not be far wrong to say that the man to whom was due the first initiation of the scheme which gave birth to the Leys School was Mr. Henry French, of Taunton, who succeeded Dr. Moulton as Mathematical Master at Taunton College, and whose son, Mr. C. H. French, has been Mathematical Master at The Leys for over fifteen years. In 1868 Lord Taunton visited Taunton, and gave the results of the Endowed Schools Commission, claiming all the property and influence of those schools for the Church of England as spheres of Anglican teaching. Mr. Henry French was present, and was so much impressed with the poverty of Methodism in the matter of higher education as compared with the Establishment, that he wrote a series of letters to the *Watchman*—then the leading Methodist weekly—strongly urging the importance of facing the question if we were to have any chance of retaining the youth of our congregations. He wrote some fourteen letters in all, and whatever else they achieved they attracted the notice and won the eager approval of the man

in Methodism who was best able to bring the ideas contained in the letters forcibly before the Connexion—the Rev. William Arthur, then at the height of his influence, an influence which never waned until ill-health compelled him to withdraw from the councils of his Church, and constrained the Church to be content with a memory which was an inspiration, in place of a presence which was a power.

The removal of the Tests from the Universities gave an immense impetus to the movement which had been gradually gaining force in the intervening years. The question had come down "from the study to the street," and was now a matter of practical politics: "How can we secure for the sons of Methodism the advantages of the ancient Universities, without endangering their attachment to the Church of their fathers?" The Conference of 1871 appointed a committee, of which Dr. Moulton was convener, to consider what steps should be taken in the direction of availing themselves of the altered circumstances. At this time the Rev. Thomas Adams—brother of the late Professor J. C. Adams, the astronomer—was superintendent of the Cambridge Circuit, and he wrote an earnest letter to Mr. French asking him to come to Cambridge. Mr. French had in his own mind fixed upon Oxford as the more suitable place for the new departure, whatever form it might take; but Mr. Adams completely convinced him of the stronger case for Cambridge, especially as a leading Wesleyan in Cambridge, Mr. Robert Sayle, had the disposal of a fine site in the best part of the town, which he was willing to sell for £14,000, conditionally on its being used for Methodist educational purposes. Having thus won over Mr. French, Mr. Adams set about interesting the leading laymen of Methodism in the matter, Mr. Sayle meantime consenting to hold the land until the next Conference. Among others,

Mr. Adams approached Mr. T. P. Bunting, and no account, however brief, of the Leys scheme would be adequate that did not acknowledge the debt due to Mr. Bunting for his wise counsel and brilliant advocacy. He was a true friend to Dr. Moulton and to the school to the day of his death. When he came over and saw the site he declared, in his own characteristic way, that it was "mere bribery and corruption to show them such an estate." At the Conference of 1872 a Committee was appointed to look into the question, associating with themselves a number of influential laymen, and when in March 1873 the President, the Rev. Luke Wiseman, visited Taunton he asked Mr. French to draw up a statement and proposals. Meanwhile nine gentlemen—the Rev. William Arthur, Sir Francis Lycett, Messrs. William McArthur, M.P., Alex. McArthur, J. S. Budgett, James Heald, R. Haworth, W. Mewburn, and John Chubb—generously agreed to take over the estate as trustees, until it should have been decided whether the property could be used for such an object as Mr. Sayle had described.

The estate was formally conveyed to these gentlemen for £14,000, on the condition that if by September 1874 no scheme should be devised by the Connexion for making it available for educational purposes, it should revert to Mr. Sayle on his repayment of the purchase-money.

When first it was resolved that something must be done in this matter of Methodist higher education there was considerable difference of opinion as to what form the effort should take. Some were in favour of a school, some of a Methodist Hostel in connection with the University. The decision in favour of a school was arrived at by the Committee appointed in 1872, of which Dr. Moulton was secretary, and in the report which he drew up for the Conference of 1873 there are embodied the results of very careful inquiries

which he had made concerning principles of management, fees, &c., from the Headmasters of other Public Schools in the country, designed to be a guide to the Conference in considering the recommendation of its Committee—that a Methodist Public School should be founded at Cambridge.

This brief outline of the foundation of the institution with which Dr. Moulton was associated for the greater portion of his life, must here suffice. Mention has been already made of those who first launched the scheme: to those must be added the names of Mr. Percy Bunting, Secretary of the Governing Body from the first, and of Mr. H. J. Atkinson, the Treasurer and Vice-Chairman for the first ten years. It was Mr. Bunting who first intimated to Dr. Moulton that it was to him that the Committee looked to fill the post of Headmaster of the school that was to be—a prospect of which Dr. Moulton had not the faintest anticipation when he presented the Committee's report to Conference. It was with Mr. Bunting that he visited other Public Schools in order to compare systems of management; and, indeed, throughout his life at The Leys there was no one among the Governors with whom Dr. Moulton was more personally intimate, nor was there any one upon whose judgment he placed more reliance. The names of others, many of them Old Leysians, who have unselfishly laboured for the School, must be left to the historian of the School in some future day.

The Wesleyan Conference in 1874 assembled at Camborne—a strangely out of the way spot, it may seem, for some of the distances to be travelled by its members were very great. Indeed, at Plymouth station Dr. Moulton fell in with one of his old Richmond men, the Rev. T. H. Horrell, who was on his way from Lerwick in the Shetland Isles to

attend the Conference! This is not the place in which to discuss the administrative policy of a Church: suffice it to say that experience has shown it to be a wise policy to locate the annual Conference in as many different centres of Methodist activity as is compatible with the practical difficulty of providing for so large a number of guests for a period of three weeks. The visit of the Conference gives a natural stimulus to the Methodist life of the town it visits, especially in the case of provincial towns, and the *rota* of some fifteen towns relieves the administrators of any one district from what would otherwise be the heavy burden of making the necessary arrangements year after year. The Conference had only once before met at Camborne, in 1862; but it was not without hallowed recollections of that Conference town that Dr. Moulton travelled to this, the second Camborne Conference. It was at the first that he had been ordained, and, with the plain but solemn and impressive ceremonies of the Wesleyan Church, admitted into "full connexion" with the brotherhood. That Conference had marked one epoch in his life; this was to mark another.

When the question of the proposed school at Cambridge was brought up and the time arrived for designating a Headmaster, Mr. Arthur, acting as spokesman for the Committee, took a determined line:

> "I must say for the Committee that after looking round and round for a man that could do the work, with the qualifications in view, first, that he must be a man in whom Methodists would have thorough Methodist confidence; and, secondly, a scholar such as would command the respect of the University and the country, the feeling is on the part of everybody that we are shut up to one man: that without any of us knowing it Providence seems to have been taking that man quietly, step by step, out from the common level of Methodist preachers by one indication

after another, just marking him out to us, so that when the time came you should all say, This is the man."

So strong an appeal coming from such a man carried the Conference. There had never been any opposition in the form of the proposal of any other name: the only doubt in the minds of his brethren was as to whether Dr. Moulton's withdrawal from Richmond would not involve a loss which would more than counterbalance the good achievable at Cambridge. Many of his wisest brethren were far from satisfied upon this point. Some seemed never to become wholly reconciled to the appointment, and when about ten years later a proposal was made to appoint him to fill the post of Theological Tutor at Richmond vacated by Dr. Osborn's retirement, many earnestly desired that the change might take place.

And how was the designation viewed by the one primarily concerned? That he sought it no one will for a moment imagine, but it is equally true that until a few weeks before the proposal to the Conference he had no suspicion of what was contemplated. In his speech in Conference the previous year at Newcastle, when presenting the report of the Committee of which he had been convener, he laid down that the experience of all first-grade schools was that the Headmaster made or marred the school: "the post," he urged, "must be made attractive enough to secure the services of a first-class man." It was only characteristic of him that he should have been thus unconscious that it was upon him that there rested the desire of his Israel, and that when sought for he should have been found hidden amid the stuff. A month or two after Conference he wrote to Dr. Westcott:

"You may have seen what a change has come over me since we last met. . . . For myself I shall go as a matter of

obedience. I don't think I am the man for such responsibilities, and no allurement would have induced me to undertake them. Now, however, I am pledged, not indeed to succeed, but to do my best."

But "going as a matter of obedience" did not stifle pangs, or silence fears. The appointment to Cambridge involved for him a complete change in his manner of life, and, it must be added, the sacrifice of much that was congenial and helpful to him. His relations with his students had been peculiarly close and tender, the work at Richmond was in every way suited to his tastes, and was not of a character which shut him out from participation in the connexional life of Methodism, or from close attendance at the meetings of the Revision Company. Now everything was to be changed. He was now to go to work with which he was perfectly unfamiliar, in that, over and above the teaching, there was the responsibility of management, and that of a new institution with no precedents to guide him. Instead of dealing with men who had to be trained and inspired, but the root-principles of whose characters were strongly formed, he was now to be responsible for the moulding of young lives at their most impressionable period, and when the impulses received towards good or evil would determine in no small degree the character of future years. And with this keen appreciation of the exacting nature of the new call he realised that everything else would have to be subordinated to its claims, even if not absolutely relinquished, and, in particular, that he would have little opportunity of giving to the Revision the close attention which he had given up to this point. Is it to be wondered at that at first he shrank from the proposal, feeling himself to be altogether insufficient for so great a task?

But as was his wont in all such matters he preferred to trust to the guidance of Providence as expressed in the decisions of his Church. As it was not at his own initiative that he went to Richmond in the first instance, so it was not by his own desire that he left it. Had he consulted his own wishes and tastes he would have unquestionably stayed where he was, both from love of Richmond and from fear of the new responsibilities; but it never occurred to him to look at it from that standpoint. His brethren designated him and he went—in January 1875.

The story of the Richmond life cannot be closed without some reference to joys and sorrows in his home. Two sons were born there to him, and when they were emerging from early childhood the happiness of the home was complete with the birth of a little daughter. This was in September 1870; but the months of joy in the newly-won treasure were destined to be brief. In March 1871 Mrs. Moulton's mother, who had lived with them from the beginning of their married life, and to whom Mr. Moulton had been the tenderest of sons, passed peacefully away in her chair, in fulness of years that had known much change and sorrow. A month later the little one, after a short, sharp illness of a few hours, was taken away in her seventh month of life. The name of the lost bairn was rarely indeed heard from the parents' lips in later days; but the wound was one that never healed. Those who in the last three years of Dr. Moulton's life watched the peculiar tenderness he showed to his little granddaughter were not slow to divine some of the thoughts she brought up from depths that had lain unstirred but unchanged for twenty-five years.

Before plunging into the full stream of his busy life at Cambridge there are only due some words in grateful recog-

nition of the cordiality of his reception there from the very first. He was leaving behind him in Richmond his many well-tried friends, and he had come into a new land, where he knew but few, and where the very nature of his undertaking could not be expected to facilitate the making of a position for himself in a University town. But from the first day of his life in Cambridge to the last he never experienced anything but the most perfect kindness and courtesy from all the leaders of the University; and it was no small sign of their good-will that after two years' residence in Cambridge the University conferred upon him an Honorary M.A. degree, at that time the rarest of its degrees, held only by eight before himself. The cordiality manifested towards him in the Senate House that day showed that his scholarship and his personality had won for him an established place in the esteem of a University which only a few years before had still been practically closed to Nonconformists like himself.

His entrance into this new sphere of life was of course made the easier and more pleasant by the strong friendship which had sprung up between him and the Cambridge members of the Revision Company, especially Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort, and the prospect of closer association with them was to him one of the few positive attractions of the new state of things as compared with the old. "The most pleasant thought I have," he writes to Dr. Hort in October 1874, "is of those whom I may now hope to see more frequently—not once a month only."

And Dr. Hort, writing shortly after the designation was made, welcomed him with a warmth which made it impossible for him to regard himself as among strangers.

"Ever since I read the reports of Conference (confused and *ex parte* as they evidently were) I have been rejoicing to think

that you will soon be taking up your home among us. Whether indeed the step was a wise one on the part of the Conference I could not help having misgivings. Setting aside the original question about having a school at Cambridge, I should have thought it would have been of paramount importance to keep you at Richmond. At all events that is the view which a Churchman may be pardoned for taking. But it is evident that many not obvious considerations were at work, and these are matters on which a bystander may easily go wrong. About the gain to ourselves and to Cambridge there can be no doubt at all."

The task which he went to take up was far from being an easy one, for it was nothing else than to create that most highly sensitised of all institutions—a Public School—having himself enjoyed no personal experience of Public School life either as boy or master, and at the same time possessed with the consciousness that it was "in the power of the Headmaster to make or mar the school." How far the scheme upon which the Leys School was framed was of his devising—that is to say, how far he impressed his own individuality upon the committee of which he was convener and spokesman—will never be known for a certainty, but many of their collective utterances seem to betray their origin, and the dominating ideas which governed the minds of those with whom he worked in the matter were without doubt the same as those which he had formed in his own mind. Three of these fundamental principles were:

(i.) Everything was to be of the best quality. Although the financial embarrassments which beset a new, unendowed school often thwarted him in the pursuit of his full purpose in this matter, he nevertheless throughout his whole life resolutely set his face against any economies which might have the effect of starving the school, with the inevitable result that he always took the extra weight upon himself.

(ii.) Religion should not be merely one of many elements of school life, but the underlying principle of them all. How this was manifested in his administration at The Leys will be seen at a later stage.

(iii.) Although a Methodist school it must be free from a narrowly sectarian character ; and so it was and so it is still. The Wesleyan chapel was attended, there were two "society classes" in the school—of course perfectly voluntary—the majority of preachers and speakers to the school were Wesleyans, and yet there was nothing to make the father of a boy belonging to another communion apprehensive lest his son's loyalty to his own Church should be undermined. And this was as Dr. Moulton wished it to be.

The fifteen years which passed between his removal to Cambridge and his appointment to the Presidency of the Wesleyan Conference in 1890 were years which may be summed up briefly in Keble's familiar phrase—"the trivial round, the common task." It will be easily realised that years thus spent present considerable difficulties to one who desires to construct a narrative, for they lack the objective events upon which such a narrative is most naturally based. However it is only in a sense that these years were uneventful. None of those who, in any capacity, came in contact with Dr. Moulton at The Leys would be disposed to regard them so ; and though the full history of those years never will or ought to be written, those who could write pages of that history are not likely to forget it, unwritten though it be.

Dr. Moulton was never one who loved publicity. Whilst he was a Richmond tutor, within easy reach of London, he was seldom seen upon a public platform, and very rarely spoke in the Conference. When in later years he was

dragged into publicity, much against his inclinations, he gave in—as he was wont to give in—to the desires of others, and proceeded to show his marvellous power of adapting himself to altered circumstances. But that was, as yet, in the distant future. For the present his paramount duty lay at home, and he gave to his new charge unwearying care and attention. He realised that at that stage every detail was of importance, and attention to detail was only to be guaranteed by his constant presence on the spot. Hence for years he was but seldom away from the school during term-time, and on Sunday only twice in fifteen years.

It is not too much to say that these years of comparative retirement from public life constitute the most fruitful period of his life. It was throughout marked by unremitting personal influence—powerful yet tender—unbroken by the absences and distractions incident upon public work and leadership. His election to the Presidency not only involved a temporary break in the continuity of his school activity, but completely altered the course of it for the remaining years of his life: and for this reason these years, forming as they do an easily isolated period, are treated here by themselves, according to their subjective characteristics rather than their chronological sequence. What was Dr. Moulton doing during these fifteen years? What was he thinking of? What were his ideals? Such are the questions to which some answer will be given—incomplete it must be—in the following pages.

From the very first it was his deep desire to establish between himself and his boys a relation of close friendship, to exist side by side with the more official relations. It is probable that nothing at The Leys would have so thoroughly astonished the typical Public School boy as the relations between the headmaster and his school. To those accustomed to regard the headmaster as a far-off potentate,

whose personal dealings with the rank and file of the school are confined to a few—usually painful—interviews, nothing would seem stranger than the spectacle of a headmaster accessible at all times to everybody, concerning himself with all the trifling details of an individual schoolboy's life, even to the point of occasionally teaching little boys of ten years of age Latin and arithmetic. Yet so it was, and—what might astonish him still more—there resulted from these intimate relations no loss of dignity. Some may be disposed to regard such tasks as involving a great waste of time to a scholar of Dr. Moulton's calibre, but it is sufficient for us that he regarded it as no waste. And in one notable respect his policy in this matter left its mark upon the school as a whole. Where the headmaster taught the youngest and most ignorant it was impossible for the senior boy to regard the junior as beneath his notice; and thus it came to pass that at The Leys there was practically unknown that proud superiority which characterises—often to a painful degree—the relations between boys of the same Public School, and which forbids the inferior to speak to his superior unless he is first spoken to. It was impossible there because the headmaster was "among them as one that served."

How this characteristic of Dr. Moulton's dealings with his boys struck them is reflected in the following letter written by an Old Leysian in South Africa to his father in England:

"I don't think enough stress has been laid on his great friendliness with the boys, and his art of putting at their ease the youngest as well as the oldest boys in the school. I think, judging from my own experience, that no small boy at The Leys was ever afraid of the Doctor. Of course, if you had done wrong and were expecting the merited reward, you had some inward tremors; but in any small difficulty, if you wanted advice, there

was no fear that he would not understand. And it was really wonderful, however busy he might be (and few of us ever realised how busy he was) he was always ready to give you the few minutes necessary, and to say all that needed saying, without the least appearance of hurry or desire to get rid of you.

"What the loss of him will be to the school no one can imagine; to every one of the boys it will be irreparable. I cannot think what the school without the Doctor will be like. I remember once when he was ill for three months, and there was a talk of his retiring, how anxiously every one awaited news of his recovery, and how when he came back the fellows cheered him, and went about looking as pleased as if they themselves had pulled through an illness. So few men are able to be so utterly sympathetic and to possess so immense a dignity. The dignity was seldom brought forward as a weapon, but it was very imposing on occasions.

"Speaking of his sympathy reminds me of an instance of it which I experienced. When I first went to the school I was placed in a form in which the boys were all years older than myself and very much bigger. Just before Christmas when exams. were on we were down for *vivâ voce* with the Doctor in Greek. As the time approached I was in great trepidation, for besides being the youngest I was by far the naughtiest boy of the lot, and I thought any shortcomings of mine would indeed be visited. The awful moment arrived and we were seated round the Doctor and construing had commenced. As my turn came nearer my mouth became drier and my book shook in my hands. At last the Doctor called my name, but not a word would come, and I vainly attempted, with all eyes upon me, to make a start. The Doctor called my name again and then looked up, and I suppose saw what was the matter, for he began at once to tell us some most interesting things about the finding of some old manuscripts of the book we were reading. I became interested, and forgot the ordeal, so that when he finished speaking and said: 'Now ——' I took my piece with ease and fair correctness. I never forgot that. The task of those who have to choose *his* successor will be only less hard than that of the successor himself."

This disposition was very far from being a mere emotion of friendliness and sympathy. It was that, but it was much more than that: it was part of a theory of education with him—if so hard a term may with any fitness be used to denote what was so essentially tender. His views upon teaching are found expressed with great clearness in the Valedictory Address which as President of the Conference he delivered to the students of the Wesleyan Training Colleges for Teachers in December 1890, and as the address embodies the experience and the principles of the fifteen years with which we are now concerned, it will not be out of place to introduce it here. It is, of course, far too long to quote in full; neither is that desirable, for it was naturally shaped in great measure by the needs of his particular audience, but in it there are set forth the principles which guided him and which made him what he was.

In his theory of teaching the individual loomed large; no one was more ready to give free play to individual talents, and no one was less disposed to treat a class as though it were all of a piece throughout.

"Do not think that this sphere affords no scope for discovery—for discoveries of great importance. True, your aim is mainly practical in that you are working upon the minds and hearts of individual boys and girls. But if you give your whole soul to this practical work you may by this very means enlarge the boundaries of the science of practical education. The best methods of teaching may be evolved by the theorist in his study, but they are more likely to be discovered by the thoughtful and devoted teacher by means of his daily practice. If you seek to make the work of every day as perfect as it is in your power to make it, the systematised results of your experience will bear

high value and may modify and correct many a theoretical precept."

And because he thus looked at the individual rather than at the class as a whole, he was well acquainted with that familiar problem the dull boy, for no teacher could possibly be long oblivious of the fact that mediocrity is the rule and ability the exception. But the dull boy interested Dr. Moulton. He would maintain that the dull boy was the teacher's opportunity:

"It is hard for man wholly to spoil the Creator's handiwork. The old broken-down mechanic who turned schoolmaster, if he were honest and his aim good, was often saved from distorting the growth of mind by letting it alone. Where a boy of power and promise came under his guidance he could at least put the necessary tools into the boy's hand; and though the teacher himself could use them with little skill the pupil might work wonders. Give the boy-sculptor a knife and piece of wood, and he will astonish you with his creations.

"Under any system quick intellectual energy will defy repressive influences. But what of those who are naturally dull and apathetic, whose powers develop late, whose force has at last to pierce through the barriers of timidity and self-distrust—of those whose dislike of real work is so great that they will bear any burden of mechanical repetition and learning by rote rather than put forth the least effort of intellect? What of the wasted time, perverted habits, ruined powers which belonged to such a system as once prevailed? The triumph of teaching is won in the field of mediocrity. The teacher who does not lay siege to the common and apparently irresponsive mind is shirking his most important work."

And should any one be disposed to ask, "Is it worth while?" he was ready with an impassioned defence of the position that it is always worth while to do the best of which you are capable in any field of labour, and especially where it is a matter of influencing the minds and characters of others, quite apart from the consideration of tangible result and fruit.

"But perhaps another disturbing thought arises, a doubt to which you hardly dare give expression: 'Can this work of ours claim service such as this? Is it high enough, engrossing enough, to warrant the sacrifice of other ambitions, so that the powers of a lifetime may be concentrated on this one object?' Can you really doubt it? You may indeed demur, with reason, if an estimate of your professional work is to be derived from the practice of some who claim the name of teacher. To test the memory of a number of boys and girls, to talk upon a subject with one eye on the text-book and the other on the class, to dictate rules of arithmetic and rules of thumb generally, ignoring explanations and principles; such work as this hardly comes under the head of skilled labour at all. If there were room for a class of slaves in the republic of teachers we might relegate them to such tasks as these. But this is not the occupation to which you are giving your lives. Some of these elements may enter into and be combined with your work, but only as the dull clay may be informed with a living spirit. Your ideal is to train completely, so far as in you lies, during the most important period of youthful life, the mind of man made in the image of God. On this mind you may impress a character which will abide for all future time."

He was not the one to entertain an exaggerated opinion concerning the value of examinations, for he saw very clearly

their perils: nevertheless he used them freely, failing any better means of testing work, and all the higher boys were each year prepared for external examinations on account of the definiteness which it gave to their work:

"You will not be allowed the privilege of choice, but it lies with yourselves whether the examiner or inspector is to be one who mends or who mars your work. For my own part I am a hearty believer in the examination system properly limited and controlled. But just as it is true that the man who aims most at grace of movement will very probably be least graceful, and the man who is most anxious about commending himself to others will often be least acceptable, so in many cases will undue solicitude about examination results defeat its own end. The constant aim of the examination system should ever be to discover and reward thoroughness of education, and to distinguish well-grounded training from that forcing system which seeks to accomplish the work of years in as many months. The teacher who day by day aims at the most skilful and thorough instruction need not live in fear of inspector or examiner. But in any case, to quote Dr. Westcott's words, 'Do not allow measurable technical results to modify your own ideal, still less to shape it.'"

But if a teacher is to teach with effect he must be constantly taking in knowledge at the same time, or else the want of freshness will very soon be manifest to pupils. This familiar but much neglected truth he enforced with great earnestness:

"Would you maintain the freshness of your teaching, keep up your own study. Be ever adding to your stores of knowledge. Pluck fruit for your pupils from the boughs of

a living tree, and do not give them the preserved apples of last year's growth. . . . We spoil our work, exhibit it as dead, not living, as soon as we consciously and intentionally satisfy ourselves with stores gathered in the past, instead of striving to exhibit everything as seen by the light of the present."

But behind all these theories as to the best means of teaching there lay a principle greater and deeper than mere educational efficiency. The ultimate source of the dignity of the teacher's life was to him the example and the spirit of Christ, as affording a *raison d'être* for the career, such as could not be furnished by any consideration of worldly benefit, but only by what was supernatural.

"I do believe that no one has yet found out the limits to the influence of those who by the Spirit of Christ are enabled consistently, watchfully, trustingly to train young people committed to their care. The responsibility is grave, but the reward of success is infinitely great. You will need to hold yourselves in complete control by a power not your own; but even should all efforts to reach the children's hearts prove abortive, you will find your recompense in the training and development of your own character. The discipline is severe; mistakes may be serious, more serious than in the world of men and women. But let not this thought cast you down: if a vivid impression is once made by the general tenor of your action, a slip need not bring disaster. The Lord whom you serve is able to hold you up, and He will make you to stand. Yours will be the life of those who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, honour and immortality: to you is held out the prize of eternal life."

All these principles find their expression in his actual

administration at The Leys; and because he thus highly rated his privilege, and viewed his powers as a sacred trust to be used for the benefit of the weak and ignorant, it was given to him to influence individual lives beyond the lot of most men and in those lives to rear for himself an undying memorial.

To give any adequate picture of the numerous and varied duties which were crowded into every day of that busy life is perfectly impossible, for a mere record in words could convey no adequate impression of the stress and strain of it all—which could only be realised by those who saw it for themselves. All that can be attempted here is to note the outstanding characteristics of Dr. Moulton's life and administration at the time when he was most uninterruptedly engaged upon his work at The Leys.

For several years it was his custom to conduct Morning and Evening Prayers with the boys, and even after the appointment of a second minister he continued to go in once a day at least. This he did partly that he might bring home to the boys his sense of the obligation of thus recognising religion in the life of every day: if they saw him regard such acts of worship as of sufficient importance to draw him away from his pressing duties, they would—he hoped—be drawn by his example in the same direction. But there was another reason why he always preferred to conduct prayers himself, even when he could have asked another to do it for him. Reference has already been made to his accessibility to his boys as one of his dominating characteristics, and the conduct of Morning and Evening Prayers gave him perhaps his best opportunities of coming into close contact with them. Indeed, after Prayers there was almost invariably something of the nature of a *levée*. Sometimes there might be a group—the prefects, or a

particular form—to be interviewed, but always there were individuals who desired to see him or whom he desired to see, and these cases were intensely varied, for no details did he consider unworthy of his personal attention. There would be boys to be dealt with who were under discipline; inquiries to be made concerning detriments; requests to be considered for release from certain subjects of instruction in order that special attention might be given to other subjects; boys to be quietly but firmly reproved for not writing letters home—and indeed any boys who had to ask or be asked concerning any matter of great or small importance. To him there were no matters of small importance, because so often something that was in itself trifling served to give him an insight into the individual character.

But it must not be thought that this accessibility was only a thing of times and seasons and conditions. The occasions above referred to were only the occasions most convenient for *him* to see *them: they* could see *him* at any time, for at no time did he ever consent to put up "engaged" outside his study door except when busy with Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort upon the Revision work. Even his meals were not free from interruption; he had an acute sense of hearing, and if he heard a footstep across the entrance-hall which separated the dining-room from the library he would insist upon jumping up and going out to see who wanted him and why. These interrupted meals became a painful feature of his everyday life, for it required no great perception to realise that the effect must be serious detriment to health. In reply, however, to all entreaties that he should fix regular times in the day during which alone he would be accessible to boys, he always shook his head, saying that then "they might hesitate about coming" to him "at some time when they were in special need." This will tell its own tale and reveal its

own truth. Behind this attitude to a detail of school life and work there lay a principle, a dominating trait of character which resulted in a life of complete self-abnegation and self-surrender for the welfare of others.

His conception of discipline was largely shaped by the same root principle which gave rise to his accessibility—that is to say, his reliance upon personal intercourse and influence. He always went upon the principle of trusting boys to the full, as being the only way of training them to be worthy of trust. Consequently he allowed a very large degree of freedom, and had sufficient faith to believe that this course would be justified in the result. Lying as it does upon the borderland between town and country, The Leys gives equal facilities for boys to go in either direction, and with the exception of certain obviously necessary restrictions no obstacles were placed in their way, the country being perfectly open to them every afternoon, and the town only debarred to them on market-days. The responsibility of seeing that rules were kept out of school hours was laid largely upon the prefects, and few features of Dr. Moulton's administration were more noticeable than his treatment of his prefects.

It was very far from being merely a desire to economise the time of the masters, and to save them from the weary, ungrateful task of perpetual surveillance out of school, that he cast the major portion of the responsibility during play hours upon the prefects. Just as he considered that the only way to train boys to make a right use of freedom was to give it them and train them in it, so he held most strongly that if a boy was to be trained into a man capable of exercising authority and commanding confidence, a commencement must be made at school in the day of small things. He had no

fixed rule which guided him in the choice of his prefects; there was no form the entrance to which carried with it the prefectorial status—as is so often the case in Public Schools—nor did proficiency in games constitute in his opinion an effective claim. When a boy in the upper portion of the school seemed to him to be well fitted for the post and likely to do good service, he appointed him. Consequently, it is perhaps not saying too much to suggest that his disposition would lead him not to wait until a boy was qualified for exercising authority before giving it to him, but—granted previous good conduct and a certain status in the school—to give it to him and trust him to show himself worthy of it. Acting upon this principle he gave to his prefects great privileges and considerable independence and liberty, and the result was a high standard of conscientiousness and a strong sense of duty and responsibility in matters concerning the welfare of the school. An eminent Public School headmaster had expressed the opinion to Dr. Moulton that it was impossible to "grow" a prefect of any high order in less than five years, but it did not turn out so at The Leys. Dr. Moulton succeeded at once, and some of his best prefects were among the first.

The secret of his success in this matter as in others was his own personal influence upon the individual. Knowing that confidence breeds honour, he gave his confidence freely and frankly, and he was rarely deceived. He had a high ideal of what a prefect ought to be, but that did not make him harsh and ungenerous in his estimates of their actual achievement. A late senior prefect at The Leys said of him that "no prefect could ever complain that the Doctor's opinion of him was lower than his merits: far otherwise was the case, and it were no mean ambition to desire to be even what he believed us to be. He was ever ready to praise, slow to

blame, ever willing—nay, eager—to question anything rather than a prefect's devotion to duty."

Of course his confidence was from time to time abused: no one will require to be told that who knows anything about boys. But failure with individuals never made him entertain doubts as to the soundness of the principle as a whole, and more than once his gentleness won over those whom stern repression would have driven into utter rebelliousness of disposition. He could be stern and could punish with a heavy hand, but it was not to him "the more excellent way."

To corporal punishment he had an intense aversion. While admitting its occasional necessity he wished it to be reduced to a minimum, and therefore retained it in his own hands. The following letter, which he wrote to each one of his masters in 1897, reveals the strength of his feeling upon the matter:

"Dear Mr. ——,—It has come to my knowledge (from a source outside the school) that rumour represents caning as practised by the masters. If this is the case, if any kind of corporal punishment is inflicted, I am sure that this must have resulted from some misapprehension of my views and wishes on the subject, or some misunderstanding of words I may have used. My convictions are stronger than they ever were as to the general undesirableness of corporal punishment and the necessity of retaining in my own hands the infliction of such punishment when it is required.

"I am writing to every member of the staff, partly because I am (and wish to be) in ignorance as to what may have occurred in the past; but especially because any general communication would be less consistent with the intimate relations which I hold and trust always to hold with colleagues

to whom I am so much indebted and whose friendship I so highly value.

"I am, yours most truly,

"WILLIAM F. MOULTON."

The closing words of this letter express no mere conventional regard and esteem. There always existed between Dr. Moulton and his staff the closest personal intimacy which entered into matters of private interest far removed from official relations. In the resolution of the Masters' Meeting at the time of his death there is to be felt an intimacy more close than is usual between the headmaster and his colleagues:

"They remember with heartfelt gratitude his unfailing courtesy, his ever-ready sympathy, and his boundless consideration for them. Their relations with him will be one of the most sacred memories of their lives. In him they have lost a chief who was before all things a friend, who made their sorrows and their joys his own, who ever watched with friendly eye over their interests, on whose fatherly affection they could always depend, who stimulated their efforts and put heart into their work, who by the beauty of his character, and the constant exercise of his untold kindness, bound them to him by ties that death cannot sever."

On one of the very rare occasions when he referred to the possibility of his leaving the school, he said: "When I leave The Leys the parting from the masters will be very hard." The sentiment was a natural one on his lips, but the words came home with a strange force to the minds of those who heard them when, a few hours later, the news came that he had passed away.

The relations between the headmaster and his staff were closely connected with one feature of the school constitution which demands explanation. In the course of his careful preliminary inquiries at older Public Schools he fixed on the

model of Marlborough as the most satisfactory. There were to be no "houses," in the common sense, separate boarding-houses at which assistant masters took the main responsibility of the boys' daily life. He was convinced that the headmaster must bear the full responsibility for the whole school. On the other hand, he fully approved of a modified system which would secure the advantages of a healthy house rivalry in the school games. Houses were accordingly established at The Leys, in each of which about forty boys slept, with two resident masters in charge of them. There were, of course, specially close relations between the house masters and their boys, and the resident masters took in turn as "Master of the week" a general responsibility for the management of school routine as a whole. But the headmaster was constantly in touch with all the boys, and the trifles to which he gave personal attention would considerably surprise those Public School boys whose ideal of a headmaster is that of an Olympian Jove sitting beside his nectar, careless of mankind below the Sixth Form. The system, of course, involved peculiarly close intercourse between Dr. Moulton and his colleagues. Every boy's character and every boy's work passed under review in conversation between them; and it was this intimate collaboration which produced a personal friendship of rare warmth and depth.

A Head so accessible, and so closely connected with the details of school management, might very easily have caused dangerous friction in most parts of the machine. But while it was always understood that Dr. Moulton decided everything, it was also understood that he courted the freest expressions of opinion from those associated with him. There were matters of policy on which many members of the staff differed from their chief; and their existence is worthy of remark partly from its relation to this personal friend-

ship and partly as showing Dr. Moulton's attitude towards the staff. At the Masters' Meeting he was never present. Two or three times a term he would ask the whole staff to meet him, but the ordinary weekly Masters' Meeting he designedly from the first left free to discuss all matters concerning the administration of the school, without the restraint which his presence would inevitably have placed upon them. From this meeting he was ever ready to receive suggestions, and the mere fact of a recommendation coming with the whole weight of the opinions of the staff behind it influenced him greatly in his action, though he never bound himself to carry out such recommendations, and the whole responsibility of action he, of course, took upon himself. In short, on the one side there was an autocrat—in theory—who, however, freely sought advice and accepted suggestions from his ministers: on the other there were ministers to whom was given the utmost freedom of criticism, and who carried out with the fullest loyalty the policy of their chief, even when they dissented from it in their own private judgment. One element in the formation of this happy relation must be noted before passing on. Dr. Moulton was master of every subject that was taught, and the fact that he could speak as an expert on classics, chemistry, higher mathematics, modern languages, &c., to the masters in charge of these departments, immensely strengthened his position in their esteem.

To return to matters of discipline, personal remonstrances and exhortations played a far more prominent part in his system than punishment. When a boy seemed to be getting somewhat out of hand or otherwise unsatisfactory Dr. Moulton would send for him, and after remonstrating with him would give him a "conduct card" to be signed by every master in whose class he should be for the week, and to be brought to him for inspection at the close of each day.

Twice a term he received from every master a brief estimate—denoted by a letter of the alphabet—of the conduct and diligence of every boy, and at the end of the term he invited each master to send him detailed reports—popularly known amongst us as "epigrams"—concerning any boys whose conduct called for special attention, favourable or unfavourable. These reports, combined with his own impressions gathered from personal contact with boys, and also with constant interviews with masters concerning individual cases, gave him a very distinct and adequate knowledge of his boys; but the system involved a great expenditure of time, day by day, altogether apart from the framing of the reports to be sent home to the parents. It would have been simpler for him to have thrashed offenders and thus have done with them at once, but this would have involved a surrender of principle which would have left him an essentially different man.

His own forms were usually—with the exception of those in Greek Testament, Chaucer, occasionally Sixth Form Greek, &c.—entered upon the work card as "Examinations." His object was by this means to have every boy before him once a week that he might have an opportunity of testing his work in various subjects, as well as of coming into personal contact with each one. The subjects taken from week to week would differ widely, and frequently within the borders of one form there would be several different papers being taken at the same time. For these examinations did not rank with others or with the ordinary term work: they were only designed to give the headmaster some personal knowledge of his boys' work; and save in times of exceptional pressure, when he fell into arrears in marking them, they served their purpose well. Another characteristic feature of

his management of the school was the existence of what were known as "special cases," the term denoting boys who, during any particular period, were doing work different from that of their form.

"His aim was that every master should teach what he was best fitted for, and that every boy should learn that which he was most capable of. It was an attempt to adopt the University system of private tuition as closely as the circumstances of a school permit. The most impossible demands of the most unreasonable parents, the faintest trace of an inclination on the part of the most unpromising boy, were all considered with minute care. If it were in any way feasible the boy became a 'special case' and school routine was broken through for his peculiar benefit. Dr. Moulton was width itself in his ideas of education. The Leys had a well-organised modern side before many old-established schools had done discussing whether they should have one or not, and in science teaching it has long had splendid advantages." *

This is not the place for discussing the system itself—a system which was probably peculiar to The Leys—from the educational standpoint: the only thing that is of importance here is the bare fact that Dr. Moulton showed himself very averse to the ordinary practice of forcing all boys along the same curriculum, and was willing to make numerous modifications to suit the needs and meet the wishes of individuals. This must not be taken to infer a willingness to accommodate himself to every individual whim: he would entertain no request that did not come from the boy's parents, and even then he did not bind himself to acquiesce in the request if his own personal judgment leaned strongly in the opposite direction. In most cases the modification took the form of release from Latin and the substitution of some other

* A. I. Tillyard, M.A., late Classical Master at The Leys, in *West Cambs Free Churchman*.

subject in the case of those who were destined for commercial life. The extra labour involved for Dr. Moulton and for his invaluable colleague, Mr. T. Pearson Walker, who arranged the details of this complicated system, was enormous, but he always felt it his duty and privilege to do the very best in his power for the boys entrusted to him, however great might be the personal labour entailed.

One type of "special case" may be mentioned as one in which Dr. Moulton took exceptional interest. Ever since 1887 there has been at The Leys an unbroken succession of Japanese boys. To place them in an ordinary form, at any rate at first, with their defective knowledge of English, would have been useless and absurd, so they were dealt with separately, and a considerable portion of their training Dr. Moulton took into his own hands. It was to him an intensely interesting experience to watch the new ideas gradually dawning upon these Eastern minds, and it was with great reluctance when owing to the press of public work he felt compelled to hand this over to others.

The pressure of his work, bad as it was at best, was rendered more serious by its being, in a sense, a seven days' pressure only too often. Of course the form it took on Sundays was different from that of the rest of the week, but the fact remains that Sunday was far from being to Dr. Moulton a day of rest. As already mentioned in the account of the Leys Scheme, religion—as embodied in worship and in definite instruction—pervaded his mind and coloured all his plans, and Scripture classes on Sunday always formed a conspicuous feature of the system. For years he took all these classes himself; there might be eight of them, ranging from an advanced Greek Testament class to a class of little fellows to whom even the simplest passages of Scripture

would need to be explained. He would take them all, and possibly his two "society" classes as well, if he had been compelled to miss them during the week. To lay too much stress upon the burdensome character of his Sunday work would, however, cause misapprehension. Indeed, it may be doubted whether the word "burden" could ever be with propriety used of his Scripture teaching, for with so living a voice did the Bible speak to him that he "lost the duty in the joy" of expounding it. Nevertheless, the physical strain of a Sunday thus spent after a week of stress could not fail to be detrimental to health, and it was with great relief that his family saw a considerable portion of this Sunday work handed over to the assistant chaplain, the Rev. Edward Brentnall, who was appointed in 1883. Yet it was with unfeigned reluctance that Dr. Moulton thus gave up piece after piece of this Scriptural teaching on the Sunday; and until, in 1890, his public engagements made it impossible, he would arrange that those classes whose Bible work did not come before him on the Sunday should do so during the week.

It is not an easy task to make the average schoolboy take kindly to the Bible as an instruction book in class, and those who have tried will probably have realised that one reason lies in the unsuitability of the vast majority of Bible text-books. Written in most cases by those who have had no experience in this difficult work, they fail to grip the imagination and enlist the sympathy of young people, and as an inevitable result the Bible is written down as a dull, uninteresting book. In his own classes Dr. Moulton discarded text-books, even when the boys possessed them to help them in the preparation of their lessons: taking the plain text itself, he would expound it out of the fulness of his knowledge and the insight of his sympathy, until all would admit that the Bible *could* be made interesting, and that even

Greek particles in Gospel or Epistle had reasons for existence.

The question as to the best method of teaching Scripture to boys seems early to have exercised his mind. As far back as April 1861 we find him writing to his old friend Mr. Edward Rush upon this matter, in reply to a query put to him:

"I don't think I would use a text-book but the Bible for the Scripture studies. . . . I think you will find it better to get one or two books for yourself, and not put them into the hands of the boys. I believe more interest will be felt in the study, to say nothing of the advantage which they will receive from forming the habit of studying the Scriptures carefully. My idea is this: let the Scripture History be made as much like other history as possible; treat a reign under various heads—civil affairs, wars, intercourse with neighbouring states, &c.—*i.e.*, let the questions be carefully framed under these heads, but let the boys have the work of collecting the information from the Bible itself. . . . I would attach great importance to geography. I believe when a decent knowledge of Scripture geography is gained, the history is almost sure to follow, and that the disgraceful amount of ignorance of the history which we meet with arises from the very loose ideas most people have of the situations of places named. I would require all important places found; perhaps an introductory lesson or two on Scripture geography would be best."

Before this letter comes to a close he is giving a detailed inventory of the necessary equipment for a chemical laboratory! Some years later he writes at great length to the Rev. G. G. Findlay upon the same subject of the Bible in schools. For years he had been pledged to write two or three volumes

for the "Cambridge Bible for Schools," and it was with the keenest regret that he saw the project recede further and further into the region of things desirable but unattainable.

"I have clung," he writes to Dr. Westcott, in March 1889, "to the hope of doing something in the enterprise which has from the first interested me so deeply. Whenever I have offered to withdraw, the Dean* has been good enough to express a wish that I should still keep the work in view. Had I known that the delay would be so great I should have retired long since. I fear my fate now is to cause embarrassment rather than give help to my friends. But other duties are inexorable."

Finding himself utterly unable to get clear of school work sufficiently to enable him to touch the work, he suggested the name of Prof. Findlay as one well fitted for the task—the editing of *Thessalonians*. "Prof. Findlay," he wrote, "is one of the very best students of the Greek Testament whom I know, and especially a most earnest and thoughtful student of St. Paul." His suggestion was accepted and the following year he was frequently in correspondence with his friend upon this matter, and the letters are of more than personal interest because of what they reveal of his views on Bible study. Writing to Mr. Findlay in August 1890, he says:

"My own experience with schoolboys would lead me to lay down special lines. I have not thought out any plan fully—such a matter *solvitur ambulando*—but I will put down what has been in my mind, just as it occurs to my memory. I should make historical colouring as strong as possible (without exaggeration), neglecting no opportunity of showing connection between topics, phrases, &c., and the circumstances

* Dr. Perowne, now Bishop of Worcester.

of Paul's visit, the history and condition of Thessalonica, &c. I fear there is not much to be gathered, but investigation *à la* Lightfoot must reveal some of the thoughts and influences present to St. Paul and his readers. All this is as familiar as possible to you; I should apologise for mentioning it, but that I want to plead for frequent and full historical references, in the interest of boys. I don't think boys will ever look up and look into a long string of references to texts of Scripture, so invaluable to the maturer student. I would urge, therefore, that the one or two most important verses referred to should be written out in full, the others . . . added (as mere references) for the sake of completeness, and on the chance of their being used.

"I venture to plead for paraphrases of difficult verses, and for longer and connected statements generally, as opposed to a larger number of short notes on little points. . . . I find boys enter well into such matters as synonyms, but the force of particles, &c., needs to be brought out in detail to be clearly understood. It is of course with imperfectly developed interest and a shrinking from steady thought that we have to deal.'

There follows a passage most thoroughly characteristic of his style of treating those who came to him for advice:

"Having written thus much I wonder what you will think of all this. How can I inflict on you this string of remarks, mistaken, obvious, half true, as they may be? I feel half inclined to tear up the sheets, and save myself from even the appearance of dictating to you what should be done. But I am sure you will not misunderstand me, and at all events I can do no harm.

"You move every day in a very different world, and the level to be aimed at for (advanced) schoolboys is not the

same as the level for theological students, for even those students who know much less Greek bring to their work many other qualities which schoolboys have not. I am dissatisfied with much of the work in the C. B. S., judged by this standard (C. B. *for schools*), and it is perhaps well to deliver one's soul. I think it would be a grand thing to really hit the mark in notes on St. Paul for a thoughtful and well-intentioned schoolboy. *You will do it.*"

Another letter written to Mr. Findlay about the same time may be quoted as well. For Mr. Findlay's scholarship Dr. Moulton ever had the profoundest respect; the intimacy between them—despite a considerable disparity of age—was close and affectionate, and in a letter written to him just a month before he died he inscribed himself "yours in an affection that never changes." The letter—the earlier part of which is quoted elsewhere in this volume—is self-revealing beyond most of his letters:

"I am sorry to have caused you embarrassment. But I cannot help feeling very strongly that on you, my friend, rests the burden of proof, and not on me. Must we not say, to begin with, the natural assumption is that, in a passage of mixed 'I' and 'we,'* there is the ordinary significance in the change from one to the other? I could understand without the slightest difficulty a continuous *we=I*. I can *imagine* the combination of a 'veiled' and an 'emphasised' personality; but I hold that such an explanation in any passage (of combined 'I' and 'we') must be that to which we come at last, when other explanations seem to involve still greater difficulty. For myself (writing however, at a distance from books, and having no Concordance to consult),

* In St. Paul's Epistles. This letter, like the last, refers to Mr. Findlay's book on *Thessalonians*.

I should suggest that St. Paul's heart-hunger for fellowship leads him where he can to associate others with himself, even somewhat beyond the limits which beforehand we might expect; but I shall be greatly surprised if a 'we' passage is pointed out in which there may not easily have been in his mind a real association of this kind, a real plurality. . . .

"By no means could I consent to a footnote indicating dissent. My dissent is nothing. I do care very much about persuading you; but that is all. The suggestion makes me feel as if I were really embarrassing you. If I thought you felt bound to alter a single word, except where I am so fortunate as to win your assent, I should not dare to write at all. I have written simply and *sans façon* because I have fully trusted to your laying aside whatever your judgment did not approve. . . ."

Some surprise may have been felt at the absence of references in this narrative to Dr. Moulton's preaching. As a matter of fact during these years he preached singularly little, at any rate during term time. He shrank from preaching to the congregation which contained his own boys side by side with a general congregation, for he felt, more than any other preachers from that pulpit, the responsibility of the position and the difficulty of so preaching as to meet the needs of the two elements. And as during these years there was no separate school service Sunday by Sunday he preached seldom. It was, however, his custom to keep the boys at home upon the last Sunday evening of the term, and preach to them by themselves, not even the masters being present. The infrequency of these services, together with the solemnity which naturally—even to a schoolboy—belongs to the closing of an epoch of life, lent force to the tender appeals of one they knew and loved so well, and many Old

Leysians would mention those services as among the most abiding of the religious influences of their early life.

One feature of his daily work remains yet to be noticed, and that by no means the least important: I mean his correspondence. Every day there would come to him, in his double capacity of "director of studies" and "acting parent," multitudes of letters each of which required personal attention. In addition to this there was for many years—until the school secretary took a great part of this work off his hands—a mass of letters to be answered dealing with financial matters, concerning either the general financial working of the institution or the accounts of the individual boys, which often necessitated hours of inquiry and pages of explanation. And then over and above all the rest there was his private correspondence, heavy and varied. In dealing with the school correspondence he was assisted, to a degree only appreciated by those who knew his home life, by his wife. How much she did for her husband's school in this and other matters will never be known, but several hours of letter-writing a day for twenty-three years represents one element of her contribution to his success.

But the activities outlined above and essentially bound up with his position at The Leys by no means represent the sum total of the work which he crowded into these busy years, and some of these outside interests call for at least a few words of mention. From a comparatively early period of his residence in Cambridge he had been associated with the work of the Philological Society as a member of the council. For some years he had been an active member, but as the work at The Leys became more and more severe and engrossing he was compelled to look on from a distance. This inability to do any active service for the Society made him uneasy as to whether he ought not to surrender his

place on the council to some member better able to give time and attention to the work. Unwilling to remain in what might seem to be a false position, unwilling also to take a step which might be construed to imply lack of interest, he wrote frankly to Dr. Hort—as he was wont to do upon personal matters such as this—to ask his advice, he being another member of the council.

"*Jan.* 23 [1886].

"Dear Dr. Hort,—I am sure you will allow me once more to consult you on a matter of private interest.

"I recently received from Mr. Verrall an earnest request for a paper for the Philological Society; and it was with much regret that I told him I had no chance of writing anything at present. Dr. Jackson's observation this afternoon showed a strong wish to place upon the council those who can give such help as this to the Society. You know how completely my time is mortgaged, so that, even if I could think a piece of my work worthy of coming before the Philological Society, I am and shall for a long time be unable to make the attempt. Under these circumstances, I think I ought to resign my place on the council. I do not wish to take this step without advice, and I know you will believe in the simplicity of my motives in asking this advice from you. I can do council work, and I am strongly attached to the Society, but I am keeping other names from the list, and I strongly suspect that the secretaries and president—from public considerations entirely—must object to the presence on the council of one who has not written in the Journals and is not likely to write for a long time to come. I have not mentioned the subject to any one.

"Believe me,

"Yours most truly,

"Wm. F. Moulton."

Dr. Hort's reply was evidently reassuring, for he retained his place upon the council.

Another piece of outside work, in which Dr. Moulton was associated with Dr. Hort, and to which he gave unremitting care, was the Perse School for Girls. Every one who knows Cambridge will be familiar with the Grammar School upon the foundation of Dr. Perse. Quite recently a girls' school was instituted upon the same foundation, and the Board of Managers included some of the leading men in the University. Partly because of his practical experience in school management, partly, maybe, because the presence upon the Board of so well trusted a Nonconformist would allay any fears that might exist lest the school should be exclusively and aggressively Anglican in its management, Dr. Moulton was invited to become a Manager. The post was by no means a merely nominal one. As one of the most active members of the House Committee, he watched carefully over every detail of management, with the result that amongst his numerous letters to Dr. Hort—mostly concerned with matters of Biblical exegesis or textual criticism—there are to be found notes of a very different type: "Does Mrs. Hort know of any one who would serve well as caretaker?" "I am sorry there is some dissatisfaction about the shed; I know the form of the roof has been mentioned, and no exception was taken at the time."

Nor was he by any means behindhand in the matters of his own Church. Although the fact that the Conference always commenced before the school term finished prevented anything like regular attendance on his part, he was never out of touch with the Methodist life of the country, and to Methodism in Cambridge he was always a pillar of strength, helping generously both with counsel and in other ways the various schemes upon which the Circuit embarked. During

all these years the Cambridge Circuit belonged to the First London District, and therefore was not the centre of influence and strength which it became when, in 1892, it and Ipswich were taken away from London and added to the old Norwich and Lynn District, which was henceforth to be known as the East Anglia District. It was always his desire to make The Leys a rallying point for the Methodism of the University, and he laid himself out to help in any way possible the successive generations of undergraduates. Once a term for many years he would, whenever possible, invite all the Wesleyan men in the University to The Leys on a Saturday evening, usually to meet some leading minister who might be preaching in the town on the Sunday. Every week for years he met a society class almost exclusively composed of University men, and he took a warm and active interest in the Wesley Society, which met on Sunday evenings during term time, partly for social intercourse, partly for the reading and discussion of papers. But behind these general and visible manifestations of friendliness there lay a ministration of encouragement, counsel and inspiration which has no records save in the memories of those for whom it was performed. Let one of the Cambridge men of this period speak for himself, and for others like himself:

"I have held my pen over the page for long moments seeking for words in which to frame my tribute to his memory. Ever since I heard [of his death] I have been living over again the days in which the greatness and the beauty of his life first won me and made me something more than his pupil, something more even than his friend. I see myself again a poor, almost friendless undergraduate, utterly unprepared for the world of University life into which I had been thrown, too poor to enter into that life, and quivering with a sensitiveness that resented even the recognition of my poverty.

"Do you think that I shall ever forget the grace with which he

stopped to concern himself with my doings and prospects? There is only one source for such perfect grace as his. . . . His help was unstinted, but he always made me half think that I was helping him, until at last he wrought that work which must always surely be the greatest that we can do for our fellow men—taught me to believe in myself, gave me the gift of self-respect."

One branch of work in his Church which he took in hand early in his career and continued to superintend up to the time of his death was the training of the young ministers during the stage of their four years' probation. Feeling strongly as he did the need of a well-educated ministry, and knowing also how much incitement to study and guidance in it were required by young men situated as they were, he thought no trouble too great to be expended to this end. And how much work it involved few ever knew outside his own home. Not only was there the scheme of study to be compiled for the four years, and examiners to be found for the various subjects, but there were emergencies and irregularities to be met, and these constituted an enormous addition to the labour. When the time for examination came near he received letters every day asking for a postponement either of one paper or all, sometimes on the ground of sickness, sometimes on account of especial pressure of Circuit work, or some other reason, good, bad, or indifferent. Every such postponement meant the making of a fresh examination paper, and arrangements with the superintendent of the Circuit for a new examination; and although he received valuable assistance from his two colleagues in this department, the greater portion of the extra work entailed by second examinations fell upon him, if for no other reason than this—that he was the only one available who could at a moment's notice set an adequate paper upon Hebrew or Methodist Polity, Church History or Dogmatic Theology,

Apologetics or Philosophy. Had it been paid work he would have felt more at liberty to ask for assistance, but all the work for the probationers' examinations being gratuitous, he felt scruples about asking his brethren to undertake the re-examinations without being able to offer them any remuneration; so he in most cases did the work himself. It may be asked why he so readily consented to postpone, or why he did not excuse altogether when the candidate was absolutely unable to take the examination. His sympathy with less gifted men working under difficulties inclined him to the former; his strong sense of the importance of the mental discipline forbade the latter; and he would have considered his own ease dearly bought at the cost of harshness to a brother or treachery to his own convictions. To make the conditions as favourable as possible, consistently with the accomplishment of the work, was his constant aim, and those best fitted to judge would say that he succeeded.

One letter—to the Rev. J. Whitehead Clegg—may be quoted as typical of the correspondence which passed between him and the probationers, and as peculiarly characteristic of his tone:

"*Oct.* 5, 1892.

"Dear Mr. Clegg,—I am always delighted to give whatever help I can. We have always avoided specifying one particular text-book, for various reasons. One of these was our wish to save the purse of probationers, mentioning several good books any one of which, if thoroughly studied, would lead to good results. If I give you any counsel now, I cannot be sure that the examiner's questions will carry out my suggestions. But I will gladly say what I think. On *St. John* you have admirable works. I have no doubt that Westcott is best, but probably you will find it easier to take Plummer as your text-book and start from a knowledge

of that. But your store is so rich that one hesitates to leave out any one of the four works. On *Psalms*, Delitzsch is of first-rate value. I do not know that you need any other book at all. Perowne is very attractive and useful, but you probably will not need it. Still, an examiner may, and probably will, have it in his hands. If you like, I will lend you Perowne for a fortnight, when you have got up Delitzsch. You 'have many things to say on this subject, but' you 'forbear.' Why so? I shall be very glad to hear from you, and will do anything in my power to serve you.

"With kindest regards,

"Yours affectionately,

"Wm. F. Moulton."

How tenderly he dealt with those who were weak will be seen from the following letter to a superintendent minister concerning his colleague:

"If you have seen your colleague Mr. —— during the last few days, you will have heard that he sent to me a very desponding letter about two subjects in his examination. I returned an answer of sympathy, for his letter deeply distressed me; but I was perplexed as to what could be done. . . . *Any* difficulty, short of injustice [to others], seems to me smaller than the risk of paining a man who has honestly done his very best. I think that the risk of injustice to others will be minimised if I make inquiries in all cases of failure, and try to avoid casting censure at the District Synod upon those who have worked really hard."

Not all the letters he received on this subject were as congenial as Mr. Clegg's had been. While some of the men appreciated his efforts on their behalf, others did not; together with letters appreciative and grateful there were

those that were—otherwise, and sometimes he would be thoroughly disheartened and depressed by a harsh, unintelligent criticism in the Conference on the part of some older man from whom better things might have been expected. But he never turned aside from what he conceived to be his duty in the matter, and trusted for his vindication to the future.

It has always been urged in favour of the scholastic profession that, whatever are its drawbacks, it has this in its favour, that the schoolmaster has holidays which he can rely on and which are of a length to make business men and others envious. This is undoubtedly true of assistant masters, it may be true of some headmasters, but it was very far from being true of Dr. Moulton. What were euphemistically styled his "holidays" differed from the rest of his life by the change of work rather than by cessation of work. By reason of his overpowering conscientiousness he felt himself bound to give to every parent an exhaustive statement once a year as to the position of their boy and the work which he had done. In addition to this, there were the terminal reports of conduct, diligence and punctuality, wherein the "good on the whole," "fair," "excellent," as the case might be, were the result of days of hard labour, and patient comparison of masters' reports, &c. All this work broke into the vacation, and in the summer the vacation would often be halfway through before he got fairly clear of all that belonged to the reports; and then he felt free—to give his time to the Marginal References of the New Testament, to the Apocrypha, or to some other private work that had been crying for attention all through the term and had been unable to make itself heard. Thus, when he went to Scotland or elsewhere for his "holiday" he would go accompanied by books in such numbers that on one

occasion the excess luggage of the family reached 1500 lbs., despite the fact that several boxes had been sent on beforehand by goods train! And during his "holiday" he could rarely be induced to lay aside his work for a whole day to take an excursion: as a general rule he would work all the morning and all the evening, allowing himself only the afternoon for recreation. These being the conditions under which he lived and worked one is led to wonder, not that he left so little published work, but that he left anything at all; not that he succumbed in the end to the strain and stress, but that the catastrophe did not come sooner than it did.

In a life such as that of Dr. Moulton it is hard to draw a distinct line of demarcation between his public and his private life. He had no privacy, for he was at home to all inquirers and they were so numerous as to form quite a constituency: on the other hand his public life consisted in a great degree of the personal influence exercised upon individuals in private, rather than upon masses from public platforms; and thus it may be said that his private life was public and his public life was private. Having, however, sketched in outline the characteristics of these years mainly in relation to his official position, I now turn to view these same years from the standpoint of his own personality, repeating the reminder already given that these years are isolated not because he was in any way different then to what he was later, but only because the comparative freedom from official engagements outside the school makes it the more possible to obtain a clear view of his personal characteristics.

Amid so many cares and occupations it might be thought that Dr. Moulton would have no time or occasion for the

formation and cultivation of friendships, and would be too much pre-occupied with his varied duties to manifest the graces which belong to private life. But no impression could be more remote from the actual fact. Partly in the course of his work, partly in the interstices between the various portions of his work, he managed to gather round him what may without exaggeration be styled a unique company of intimate friends, of every shade of opinion, and almost every station of life; and although he had no leisure for the social intercourse which seems in our day to be so bound up with the very idea of friendship, nevertheless there was at no time any danger, so far as he was concerned, of friendships lapsing through absence of opportunity to meet. The very impossibility of personal intercourse, perhaps, led him the more to bear about his friends in his thoughts.

As was to be expected, those with whom he was most intimate were those who had been associated with him in one or other of his various fields of work. Of one of these, the Bishop of Durham, I have already spoken, and it was with him that Dr. Moulton maintained the closest intimacy of all. The fact of their belonging to different communions never in any degree tended to set up a barrier between them: indeed it is doubtful whether the thought of that difference was present to their minds during their intercourse; and if at any time it was present it was accompanied by the sense that their common work was in itself a foretaste of Christian reunion, and afforded them the means by which the "unity of the spirit" might be achieved. Thus when Dr. Westcott was face to face with the colliery strike in his diocese in 1892, and was striving to bring the parties into agreement, Dr. Moulton wrote:

"You will allow me to say how deeply I feel the difficulties

of your present surroundings. Nothing has distressed me more than the Durham strike: some of the features have been to me appalling. I know so well how abhorrent to you is this social war. May the effort of which you speak be crowned with success! And when, through God's mercy, the strike shall be at an end, may it not be possible to unite all Christians—Nonconformists as well as Churchmen—in steady work to guard against the recurrence of the evil, to use all influence towards providing courts of arbitration beforehand? Will you be so good as to make use of me if you think I can at any time be of service in influencing my friends in the region around you?* There may at some time be an opening for private suggestion where open speaking might be impossible. I need not say that any words of yours would be safe with me."

After Dr. Westcott left Cambridge in 1890, Dr. Moulton made a regular practice of writing to him, either on New Year's Day or on his birthday a few days later, a letter of pure friendship, from which all business was as a rule banished. No one was more scrupulously careful about details than Dr. Moulton, that he might not by inadvertence wound tender susceptibilities, and I have known him grievously distressed by the fear lest he had, through ignorance, withheld from a Suffragan Bishop his rightful title. But in his correspondence with Dr. Westcott the more formal style of address gives place from the first to the more intimate, the formal being reserved for the envelope, and this was truly expressive of the relations between them. In such a letter, for instance, as the following—one of the birthday letters—dignified formalities would have been almost incongruous:

* Probably a reference to the strength of Wesleyan Methodism in the district of which Bishop Auckland is the centre.

"*Jan.* 10, 1897.

"My dear Dr. Westcott,—This letter will, I believe, reach you on your birthday. Some privileges which were to me most precious have been taken away from me by the call of Providence which placed you in the north, but I am thankful to be able to join the wider fellowship of the multitude of your grateful friends on such a day. That the day itself may be blessed, that the year may be filled with blessing, all gifts of the past year renewed and fulfilled, and that many years of successful work may follow, is our fervent prayer.

"I have shrunk from writing to you during the year, in spite of the unfailing welcome which you have given me always. In the happy former times the delight of seeing you was not joined with the shadow of the thought that you could not respond without adding to difficulties which are already, I fear, too many for your time and strength. The arrival of your 'Charge' three or four days since was a token of fellowship which I prize more and more as years pass on. I did not wish to offer my thanks until I had joined myself to those who listened to their teacher and guardian, by making the pages my own. It was not wise to write the words which I have just written down. Nothing strikes me more forcibly in these latest words of yours than the concentration of all their teaching in the one thought of present and continuous action; and your words are not 'made my own' until they are habitually worked out in life.

"I know the most welcome thanks I can give will be the effort to take each portion of the teaching as a guide and help in the life of this New Year. At every point as I have read on I have responded to the truth and felt the importance of your words. But though always rooted in the well-known teaching which I have followed in your spoken and

written words for many years, your 'Charge' seems to move, as it grows from point to point, in the atmosphere of the new and changing present, and there is an ever-stimulating guidance towards new development. I cannot always discover what tendency, what experience, what peril of the actual present has moulded the expression of your thought; but so much is clear, that the needs and possibilities of the present are the unwritten commentary which experience from day to day will make it possible to supply in thought.

"I could write many words and ask many questions about some points of practical moment; but, as for your immediate hearers, so also in my own life and work, each must in the guidance of the Spirit find out for himself the right manner of working towards the same ends.

"I have written so much in response to the 'Charge' (though I have done scanty justice to the impression it has made on my mind) that I cannot venture to touch on one of the most striking experiences of the past year for me—the new and expanded knowledge of Dr. Hort given by his 'Life and Letters.' To you little would be in any respect new; but to me the book opened at many points a new world, in regard to my real acquaintance with his life and thought.

"With warmest thanks for the 'Charge,' and gratitude for its teaching, I remain,

"Always yours in true affection,

"WM. F. MOULTON."

"The Lord Bishop of Durham."

Inseparable from the name of Dr. Westcott is that of Dr. Hort, and reference has already been made to the weekly meetings at The Leys concerning the Revision of the Apocrypha. In the case of Dr. Hort the intimacy was not interfered with by removal to a distance, and moreover their common interest in the management of the Perse School for

Girls brought them repeatedly together. But this very fact renders it more difficult to speak concerning their relations, for their letters, when not concerned with matters of scholarship, cover the whole area of school management and instruction, from the kitchen to the kindergarten: matters of more personal interest seem to have been reserved for conversation.

In sending to Dr. Hort a copy of one of his few published works, he writes:

"*Dec. 20th.*

"DEAR DR. HORT,—The publisher has allowed Dr. Milligan and myself to have a few copies of our notes on *St. John* bound separately.* Will you give us the pleasure of placing a copy on your shelves?

"I cannot refrain from adding, in my own name and in regard to my own share in the work, that it would be a relief to me to think of the phrase I have accidentally used as *literally* correct. I would gladly and gratefully place amongst your books and Dr. Westcott's anything of mine, as a token of indebtedness which no words can adequately express; but how much I shrink from placing my work before you it would be hard for me to say.

"Believe me,

"Most truly yours,

"WM. F. MOULTON."

The warmth of his feeling finds expression—so far as it can in words—in his tribute to his friend at a meeting at Trinity College Lodge, summoned to consider the best manner of perpetuating Dr. Hort's memory:

* From *Acts*, with which it formed the second volume in Schaff's "International Commentary on the New Testament."

"I had not the early claim upon Dr. Hort which some of those who have spoken possessed; and the debt I owe to him, greater than any words of mine can express, I acknowledge with yet deeper gratitude than if I had been one of those associated with his early days. My impression of his life and work during the twenty-two years of close and familiar fellowship is of one harmonious and beautiful whole. It is a picture in which I can find no flaw. I can present to myself no higher ideal of a generous and affectionate friend. I have never seen any one who was more manifestly free from all selfish aims and conditions."

"Happy they who have known such men, even when it is no less a pain to think that on earth we shall hear their voice no more." Thus wrote Dr. Milligan in the *Expository Times* in January 1893 in regard to his "beloved friend, Dr. Hort." Before the year was out Dr. Milligan had joined Dr. Hort, and their common friend was borrowing these words to use them of their author in the same Review. Between Dr. Moulton and Dr. Milligan there lasted "a more than brotherly union" for twenty-three years, and the inclusion within one volume of the fruit of their joint minds is only a fitting outward expression of the personal relations between them. A great proportion of the correspondence between them is concerned with matters of scholarship, but one letter—written during the last year of Dr. Milligan's life, and eloquent of many things—may be quoted:

"*Feb.* 1, 1893.

"Dear Dr. Milligan,—I am afraid it will seem strange to you that a vacation has gone by without my writing a word. Truth to tell you I have had no vacation. This does not mean that I have been making up for lost time by doing something towards fulfilling promises of private work; it

was school work that occupied almost all the time in Christmas and New Year weeks. And now the deluge has come again. One of my most cherished wishes was that I might have one of the long talks on paper with you which I have enjoyed so much. To-day before I could begin to lighten my load of promise and wish towards you, there comes another mark of your kind thoughtfulness and remembrance. I have only just dipped into the volume * for ten minutes; but I see it is like yourself, and that means—along with all other qualities which I will not specify to you—that it is full of interest for me. It is not a volume that quenches one's thirst: the first thought it excites is: 'How soon will the companion volume come, that on St. John's Gospel?' I know that volume has been longer still in thought and 'on the stocks'; and, in your life of productiveness, it surely will not be slow in appearing.

"I wish I had anything to offer from my own stock. My life is busy enough, full of work which is, I hope, of some use, and which certainly brings much happiness. I have had a good deal more public work than I used to have; and visits to small country places, in which there is a remarkable upspringing of life and power in our Church, have been a source of great delight to me. But of study, thorough and consecutive, I have had painfully little. The Revision† work has, of course, occupied much time, as its completion has been drawing near. You will see the final results now very soon.

"This subject is bound up with the one absorbing thought of the last two months. During last summer I made a very careful examination of *Wisdom*, to see what small points had been overlooked or wrongly dealt with, and in what way our Greek text could be properly indicated. My sheets of results

* Presumably the "Discussions on the Apocalypse."

† Of the Apocrypha.

I sent to Dr. Hort, and I received from him full replies. Many of these were written during the calamitous visit to Switzerland (July to September) which did so very much to break down his strength. I don't think he felt at all the pressure of such work as this, fragmentary and usually light in character. His effort a little later to write the life of Dr. Lightfoot for the 'Dictionary of National Biography'—or rather, I should say, the critical review of Dr. Lightfoot's work—he did certainly find very trying, in the midst of his extreme weakness.

"I last saw him on November 2, soon after he had got this work off his mind. He looked to me in a very promising condition. He was very weak, no doubt, but it did not seem to me that he needed more than quiet and rest. His face had none of the anxious look I have so often seen, but was really beautiful in its mingled placidity and sparkling light. He talked confidently of lecturing in the spring in that room (his drawing-room) in which we were talking together. The last sheets he sent me were forwarded to me on November 12: in all respects the copious notes were like his best work; everything was clear, acute, thorough. And on November 30 he quietly passed away from us in sleep. Even now I cannot realise that he is gone. The memory of his beautiful character and inspiring example is so vividly present that he seems near still. . . . I saw Mrs. Hort this morning and she asked me to select some volume for you from amongst his books. She knows well what a place you held in his heart, and wished some token to be in your hands. I thought that, amongst the books from which I had to choose, one that would interest you much was Denzinger's 'Ritus Orientalium.' I hope I have not mistaken what your wish would be . . . You may wonder what made me think that a book on this subject would specially interest you. With all my

knowledge of your many-sidedness I had not discovered your deep appreciation of Christian antiquities, in this department, until I heard of the Society* which you have formed and of which you are President. The news of the sudden development of this form of work took me altogether by surprise, as I had not heard of any new movement with which you were closely connected. What the Scottish Society will do for the Church I cannot vaticinate: some of the rules and principles are admirable, but several others will mean—what the future may show that they mean. If you were not the President—one with whom I have almost always found myself in closest sympathy—I should be very anxious, not because of what is said, but because of what seems to be pointed to. 'Schism' and 'sacrilege' are sad words and sadder things; but what is indicated in this 'Constitution' by schism and sacrilege?

"With warmest messages of affection to you all and many thanks for the book,

"Yours as ever,

"W. F. MOULTON."

"Happy is it to have known such men!"

Dr. Moulton's power of gathering round him men of various creeds and opinions resulted from the catholicity of his tastes and the breadth of his sympathies. His mind was, as it were, a *salon* in which all types of thought met and exchanged courtesies without jostling or disturbance. In almost every field of study he could find some feature of absorbing interest, and in every man, however antagonistic his views might be, he would seek for some point of agreement. Some men who possess this faculty possess it by virtue of the looseness of their convictions upon all subjects;

* Scottish Church Society.

it is the natural manifestation of dilettantism or latitudinarianism. But no such explanation could ever be given of Dr. Moulton's catholicity. His years of intimate relations with leaders of the Anglican Communion never tended for a moment to weaken his devotion to his own, nor led him to underrate the reality of the dividing lines between them, but where he could he preferred to dwell upon their points of agreement. And thus, wherever he went, whether among men of learning or men of business, Anglicans or Nonconformists, all saw in him one who was ready to sympathise with them in what was best in their life and thought, and to give them credit for the best motives of conduct. Such a one cannot fail to surround himself with friends. "He held his place in the hearts of his brethren chiefly because he had a heart."

This breadth of sympathy found expression in many ways, some of which may be briefly noticed. First of all, there was his interest, almost reaching to the point of a passion, in all philanthropic and religious work. Even at the cost of disturbing the ordinary course of school work, he would frequently give up an evening to some missionary or other worker, in the hope of his capturing the sympathies of the boys at an early stage, and creating among them a living interest in all that tended to the elevation of humanity and the spread of Christian truth. Once every term, and often more frequently than that, he would arrange for a Missionary Meeting at the school, addressed by some returned missionary, in many a case one of his old Richmond students; and at the present time some fruit of the missionary interest thus awakened is to be seen in the part taken by four Old Leysians in mission work in China. That China should be the field to which the attention of the Leys Missionary Society has especially been turned is to be explained firstly by the fact that it was in great part owing to the influence of the late

Rev. David Hill that the Society came into existence, and secondly that the bias towards China thus given by that hero of modern missionary enterprise was thoroughly in accordance with Dr. Moulton's own leanings towards that sphere of work. To the last he was joint treasurer with Mr. J. R. Hill, of York, of the Central China Lay Mission, and for this agency the school contributed annually for the support of an Evangelist in addition to its contributions towards the general fund. A special interest therefore attaches to the choice of a former Chinese Missionary, the biographer of the Rev. David Hill and an old Leys Master, to succeed him in the Headmastership when he laid down his charge and his life together.

The Leysian Mission in London, in all the phases of its work, was always sure of his hearty sympathy and support. At least once a term he welcomed workers in the Mission to speak to the boys about the work that was being done, and for the last few years he was accustomed to allow the school choir to go to London to give a concert at the Mission, his motive being not so much the desire to provide entertainment for the adherents of the Mission—since that could be achieved in other ways—but to quicken the interest felt by the school in its own Mission by means of a personal acquaintance with its conditions. And his conviction that the crowded slums of great cities can only be reached by those who will consent to go and live amongst those whom they would serve, caused him to feel the deepest interest in "Settlement" work, provided that—as at Bermondsey, under the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett—the Gospel was made the centre and soul of all that is done. From its very foundation Dr. Moulton was in close touch with the Bermondsey Settlement. The whole plan of the undertaking was the subject of many a lengthy conference between him and Mr.

Lidgett before it was fairly launched, and since then I doubt whether Mr. Lidgett ever took any step of importance without consulting him upon it, or ever had a trouble without sharing it with the one man most likely to enter into his difficulties, and to give to him both sympathy and counsel.

The impressive words with which Mr. Lidgett, at the opening of the Settlement, defined their purpose and aim, breathe Dr. Moulton's spirit so truly that I quote them in preference to enlarging, in any words of my own, upon his attitude towards philanthropic endeavour:

"The reasons which have led us to build this House and Institute are not sectarian. We are urged by Christian motives to do what in us lies to bring together classes too much separated by distance, by apparently conflicting interests, and by misunderstanding; to promote a fuller co-operation of all those who care for the condition of the people, to proclaim the duty which all privileges impose on those who enjoy them to serve the common weal, and to help those who are gaining the blessings of shorter hours of toil and better wages to obtain a growing share in the highest good of life. For us everything that tends to perfect the spiritual, mental and physical powers of men and women, and to bring about improved social relationship, is a good in itself and part of the redeeming will of God. And we shall welcome the counsel and help of all who, with us, seek the coming of the kingdom of God, when His will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven, as we shall be ready, according to our power, to render assistance to them."

This breadth of interest and freedom from narrowness of vision which found its highest expression in co-operation with all types of philanthropic and religious workers was equally manifest in his personal tastes, preferences and habits. Probably few scholars have ever carried about with them less of the musty atmosphere of the library, or have been so genuinely interested in so many subjects, not only

of study, but also of surrounding life in general. The breadth of his taste in reading was extraordinary. On days in which he had been immersed for many hours in matters of high scholarship or administration, he would turn for refreshment in the late evening to one of Mr. Clark Russell's sea stories, which were always great favourites with him, and I believe that at any time he could have passed with credit in an examination upon Dr. Conan Doyle's "Adventures of Sherlock Holmes." This variety of taste in reading he tried to instil—in many cases, it is to be feared, with only indifferent success—into his boys by his choice of books for the school library. Tales of adventure, works on history, biography, science, &c., all were represented in it, in the hope that those who used it might be led to realise that a healthy taste can admire and enjoy very varied types. The nearest approach which he ever made to a feeling of contempt was in the case of those men and women who could only see beauty in the work of one school of writers, painters or composers. The heavy pressure of his life prevented his taking advantage of the many opportunities afforded at Cambridge of hearing good music, but he never lost his love of music, and he possessed a bass voice of singular richness, which he used for solos only too seldom. Occasionally it was possible to drag him away to an afternoon performance of an oratorio or the like, and the four works which stand out in my recollection as those which most powerfully impressed him were the "Messiah," "Elijah," Bach's "St. Matthew Passion," and Brahms's "Requiem"—works representing substantially different schools, and the last making no small demands upon the attention and understanding of the hearer.

Towards sport he manifested the same spirit. Although, as mentioned above, the shortness of his sight debarred him

from every species of games, he entered most heartily into the schoolboy spirit towards sports of all kinds. He valued the school games because of their health-giving tendency and because of their power of generating manliness, co-operation and *esprit de corps*, and no headmaster could have given greater facilities for the playing of matches. Football he did not understand, but he believed strongly in its discipline, and when conversation turned in his presence upon the danger of Rugby football he would quietly reply, "One thing is worse than football, and that is no football." For cricket he had, however, a downright affection, extraordinary in one who had never played the game. He was always ready to talk to boys about cricket; when there was a match on the school ground he would manage to watch it for some portion of the afternoon, if he had no engagement elsewhere; and by some means or other he kept himself wonderfully well posted up in the cricket records of the country as a whole. During August 1890, when he was President of the Conference, he was travelling from York to Scarborough a few days previous to the Scarborough Festival, and found himself in a compartment with three other gentlemen. It did not take him many minues to recognise one of the trio as Dr. W. G. Grace, but the other two faces were strange to him. However, although they never called each other by their proper names, by the end of the journey he had satisfied himself that the other two were Mr. Gregor McGregor and Mr. A. E. Stoddart, and on my giving descriptions of these players to him on his return, we found that his surmise had been correct. It would probably be safe to challenge the whole platform of ex-Presidents of the Wesleyan Conference to show equal knowledge in this department.

Akin to this catholicity of taste and interest, and born of the same spiritual graces, was his generosity of conduct,

as exemplified in his estimates of people and of things, his lavish expenditure of time and trouble on behalf of those who asked his assistance, and his ready response to any appeal made to him for material aid in any way. Of sermons he was the most indulgent critic, and it was very rarely that he allowed himself to speak words of blame concerning a preacher. His nature and disposition led him to be ever on the watch for that which was helpful, and to dwell upon that, rather than upon defects of thought and utterance,—after the manner of One of whom legend reports that, when His attention was called to a dead dog lying in the wayside, He spake no word of harshness and showed no gesture indicative of loathing, but only said with loving tenderness, "See, its teeth are like pearls!"

A story thoroughly characteristic of him is told by Mr. Arthur Tillyard concerning a meeting at which he and Dr. Moulton were present. There were three speakers. Mr. A. was laboriously philosophical, but got into a muddle; Mr. B., who was much more of a philosopher, only succeeded in being commonplace; Mr. C. spoke naturally, unaffectedly and well. When all was over Mr. Tillyard asked Dr. Moulton what he thought of the speeches. "Well," replied the Doctor, "it seemed to me that A. was above himself, that B. was below himself, and that C. was himself." Many a young preacher, awed and troubled at the thought of having to preach before the great scholar, went away helped and encouraged by the very experience which he had feared beforehand as an ordeal. "How differently," he once said to a young minister after service, "different minds deal with the same subject! You brought out lessons this morning that had not occurred to me before." It was characteristic of him and of his temper, and when he felt that criticism of a destructive

character was needed and would be helpful it took the form of an exposition of truth rather than an indictment of error. The same is true with respect to the numerous books which were submitted to him in manuscript for his advice and opinion upon them.

Reference has already been made to Dr. Moulton's close relations with Professor Findlay, of Headingley College, and no clearer view can be given of this phase of Dr. Moulton's character than is given in two utterances of his :

"I have known no man in my time more *just*, in the largest sense of that term, than Dr. Moulton was ; none more unflinching in adherence to principle, more possessed by the sense of duty to God and man, none more sensitively and accurately conscientious, down to the smallest matters that touched his responsibility. His subtle intelligence and eager activity of mind were always bent in this direction. It was this indefatigable, incorruptible loyalty to truth and conscience that gave all its vigour to his character and that made him at once the fine and sure scholar and the finished saint that we knew him to be. We may have known men—a few—as keen and strenuous in loyalty as he, but scarcely one besides in whom this consuming zeal for duty was so free from harshness, from censoriousness and inconsiderateness towards weaker men, from the least tinge of the pedantic in scholarship or the pharisaic in morals. William Fiddian Moulton was 'a righteous man' who walked from his youth up 'in all the commandments of the Lord blameless'—a man with whom one could never associate the idea of negligence, of moral laxity, of double dealing, of compromise betraying truth. But his righteousness was penetrated with a tender humanity shot through with all manner of kindly sympathies and winning affections, felt alike by young and old ; for it was the righteousness that is of God by faith, the righteousness of a heart in which 'the love of God was shed abroad by the Holy Ghost given unto him.'" *

* Memorial sermon preached before the Synod of the East Anglia District at Downham Market, May 1898.

"His acquaintances would probably be unanimous in naming Dr. Moulton as the man who, amongst all men known to them, most excelled in the *positive* charity that 'believeth all things'; with no blindness to evil or weakness of temper in dealing with it, the rare insight was given him to perceive and elicit the best in every one about him. How much his friends and scholars owe to his faith in *them*—a moral cordial that aroused self-respect and courage, that cheered and steadied them, and lifted them on as with the grasp of a warm strong hand toward the realisation of their true possibilities. To have one's work criticised by him was a fine enjoyment. Not a fallacy remained undetected, not the smallest point of error was slurred over; your argument might be torn to pieces, your ignorance stared you in the face; and yet it was all done with such modest and playful irony, with such an ingenuity of kindness, with so perfect an avoidance of every wounding suggestion, and so careful an appreciation of the smallest fragment of merit, that censure became encouragement, and you were taught to discover through failure the road to success. There is no greater art in a teacher and guide of his fellows than this."*

But for all this charity of temper, he *could* denounce, and with terrible vehemence. I well remember going with him in Scotland to hear one of the greatest of London preachers—now passed away—and the sermon roused in him such indignation that never from that time onwards did he feel himself able to acquiesce in the popular estimate of that preacher. But this was not because the sermon was feeble; rather because it was flippant and frivolous, and that on the fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, of all passages in the New Testament! A feeble sermon he could put up with and could extract from it some modicum of help, but flippancy or pretentiousness he could never tolerate, and these alone evoked from him hard words.

Although he had a very distinctive pulpit style of his own,

* Prof. Findlay in *British Weekly*, Feb. 10, 1898.

he was as catholic in his tastes in sermons as in reading. It was his practice to give his boys the opportunity of hearing the best preachers of his own Church, and where possible, of other Churches also. Among those most welcome, not only as friends but by reason of his high estimate of their preaching, were men as unlike each other as the Rev. Dr. Davison of Handsworth and the Rev. C. H. Kelly, and neither of these was ever allowed to return home without dates being fixed for future visits. At one time it was his almost uniform practice to go for six weeks in the summer to Scotland, and there he was often most fortunate in the preachers who were within reach, especially at Skelmorlie in Ayrshire, where he delighted greatly in the preaching of the late Rev. John Boyd, of the United Presbyterian Church.

His own preaching was exclusively of the expository style. Hardly ever did he leave exposition to deal with topics of the day or the social problems of our great cities. He would never blame those who did, who felt that they had a message to deliver, and who only spoke that they might throw the search-light of the Gospel upon dark places full of the habitations of cruelty. He would never blame them, but he never felt himself called to follow in their steps. He would throw all his enthusiasm, all his lively faith into the exposition of the Word, and trust to the Holy Spirit of God to do His work and apply the Word to the hearts of men. Among his favourite hymns was W. M. Bunting's "Blest Spirit! from the Eternal Sire," and no words more truly represented his own attitude to the Gospel message than these:

> "Thou gav'st the Word, and must apply;
> Thou know'st the Son, and must make known;
> In vain He died and rose on high,
> And stoops beseeching from His throne,
> Till Thou this alien heart prepare
> And gain for Christ an entrance there."

And this mention of one favourite hymn suggests the question of his general preferences in the matter of hymns. Here, as elsewhere, he was free from exclusiveness, and could heartily admire the modern, poetic, picturesque elements in hymnology. But while appreciating their beauty, his own tastes lay in another direction altogether. Left to follow his own bent, he would turn rather to those hymns of rich and deep experience which are contained in such abundance in the Wesleyan hymn-book. Two immediately suggest themselves as having been among those which he loved to give out, "Forth in Thy name, O Lord, I go," and "O Thou that camest from above." It was the third verse of this hymn which he singled out when asked to write his favourite verse in a lady's album :

> "Jesus, confirm my heart's desire
> To work and speak and think for Thee :
> Still let me guard the holy fire,
> And still stir up Thy gift in me."

Within a month "death" had "the endless mercies sealed" and made "the sacrifice complete."

But his generosity of temperament, which was so ready to recognise and rejoice in varied types of excellence, was very far from being confined to estimates. It would be impossible to give any adequate idea of the extent to which his counsel and assistance were asked for, often by complete strangers. Almost at the same time he received requests from the Government of Japan and from the directors of an Australian college to nominate to positions of importance in scholastic institutions. He would be applied to—sometimes by both sides—to compose quarrels and arbitrate upon points in dispute. But beyond all things his co-operation was solicited in connection with manuscripts destined for publication. Authors of books upon subjects as unlike as hymnology,

Latin grammar and the zoology of the Bible submitted their manuscripts to him with the request that he would read them and write introductions. This often involved him in a vast amount of correspondence, for when he undertook to read a manuscript he was never content to give to it less than an exhaustive review. One work which he thus examined before it was given to the world calls for special mention. Writing in Nov. 1870, Dr. Westcott says:

"I have just been able to look through the valuable lists of misprints which you have most kindly sent to me. The lists include many which I had failed to notice."

The work in question was the Westcott and Hort Greek Testament, and it will be easily realised that it was no light task to read such a work in proof.

To all whom he could thus in any way assist he was ready to give liberally out of his storehouse of learning. He would never ask himself whether they had a claim upon him and upon his time: it was sufficient for him that they wanted something that he could give them, and with tireless energy he strove to serve them. But once let a young man drop a hint concerning an inward call to the work of the ministry, and that gave the applicant, in Dr. Moulton's estimation, an intensified claim upon him. One such case—typical of many others—was that of the Rev. J. H. Hodson. As a boy he had heard the call of God to preach the Gospel. Learning this, Mr. Moulton, as he was then, characteristically undertook to guide his studies with a view to matriculation at London University, preparatory to his becoming a candidate for the Wesleyan ministry. Twice a week and sometimes oftener he went to Mr. Moulton's house, although first Winer and then the Revision, over and above his college duties, caused his time to be very fully occupied.

"It was with much trepidation," he writes, "that I went for the first time to submit my slender stock of classical knowledge to his inspection; but his bright smile, his gentle manner, his commendation where that was at all possible at once won my youthful heart. Once in rendering a passage from Homer I mistranslated a word. 'Are you sure that is correct?' he asked. Probably with a little tone of over-confidence I replied: 'I believe it is.' 'I think you are wrong,' he said, 'but we will look into the matter.' Immediately he reached down Liddell and Scott, and read out the meaning of the word. Of course I had made a mistake, and, equally 'of course,' he knew that such was the fact, but the modesty and gentleness of the correction inspired me to try to imitate his spirit."

When one of his old boys was reading for his Tripos at Cambridge, Dr. Moulton sent for him, and told him he should like to read Anglo-Saxon with him "as a recreation," and he actually gave him three evenings a week for some little time, in the midst of all his over-pressure of work! This was eminently characteristic of the close relations which he maintained with Old Leysians. He never willingly let any pass out of his remembrance, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to welcome them back to the school at any and every time. They did not cease to be to him objects of solicitous care because he was no longer immediately responsible for them. To one of his most intimate friends in the Wesleyan ministry he wrote:

"I am more thankful than I can say that so many of my old boys are in your flock, or at all events in your neighbourhood. I am going to ask you to let me send you a list of all Old Leysians in ——. Some I fear are in rather 'slippery places' of various descriptions. You will see them from another side, and in a different light, and you will learn to know them better than I have ever done. The

thought of them is associated for me with the painful conviction that I did for them very much less than might have been done. I know well that my work here has been really unreachable, but it might have and ought to have been possible for me to come nearer to its attainment. All the more eagerly do I cling to the hope that your letter holds out to me, that I may come nearer to them through you."

Of his general correspondence two illustrations may be given to show upon what various questions his opinion would be asked. The first was in reply to a query as to the lawfulness of cremation :

"I am perfectly sure that it cannot be *wrong* to decide in favour of fire rather than earth for the earthly house of this tabernacle, and thus literally follow many a martyr cremated though not by voluntary choice. I have no doubt that even in this last earthly concern revelation leaves us in freedom to decide. But, for myself, I do not feel able to think, with you, that in burial the body is 'still farther humbled.' A restoration of the material frame to the material world is not, as I venture to think, made higher or lower by the process. If so, may I go a little beyond the question you ask ? I would contend strongly for the lawfulness of cremation for the Christian, and I could not say a word against a Christian's conviction that it is his duty to brave prejudice for the sake of helping a salutary reform. But if a conviction of *duty* does not exist I would ask him to think of some considerations which, though worth nothing as against duty, may have some real force. I should not think it a light thing to put aside all the tender associations of Christian burial, consecrated more and more as succeeding ages multiply the number, and as they come nearer and nearer to ourselves. It is inevitable that the other choice should bring a shock

to those who only associate cremation with the preferences of Agnostics. I say this in full recognition of what I have already said—that, as against a conviction of duty, such arguments are not valid. We are *free* in the matter; but if the individual conscience can accept this freedom and feel no internal constraint, it may yet be according to the law of love to avoid what would shock some fellow Christians."

The second was to one whose name has more than once appeared in this volume, and who was trembling upon the verge of the great unseen.

"*Dec.* 4, 1887.

"My very dear Friend,—I am ashamed to think how poorly I have fulfilled—I should rather say, how far I have been from fulfilling—my purpose of frequent writing. Your faithful kindness has, I am sure, imputed the failure to its true cause, but I am not the less grieved by the fact. The term has been a time of unceasing work; and when every night finds one bankrupt, with heavy debts of work to pay and the day's capital exhausted, then even the things which one most desires to do must be let alone.

"It was a great delight to hear from you again, but it is very painful to know that you are suffering. I am thankful to remember that your son's loving care and great skill are watching over you.

"I have followed all the current of your thought with the deepest interest, but I dare not call such mental conflicts by the same names—I dare not, that is, see in them a proof of want or weakness of faith. Is not a deeper, truer appreciation of the great problem the only road to a deeper and stronger faith than was possible before? Is it not the fact that our minds are often free from serious conflict only because the hurry and strain of practical life makes true

and earnest thought for the time almost impossible? And can trust become what trust should be whilst the mind is kept from facing the difficulties? . . . I have held most firmly to the thought that only rejection of the Saviour can place a man among the lost. How the heathen abroad and the heathen at home (as destitute of true knowledge of a Saviour's offered love) are brought within the compass of this test I know not, and it matters not that I do not know. In the last moments of life all such are face to face with the God of Love.

"But I am called away, and must break off abruptly, to resume—when I can. You will, I know, forgive, and will believe that I am always,

"Yours very affectionately,

"Wm. F. Moulton."

And as he gave himself and his time and his energy on behalf of others, so did he give his possessions. In some years he gave away fully half his income, and his magnificent library was absolutely at the disposal of any one who came to borrow of him. Considerate enough of others, he never considered himself; and no small proportion of his books he bought from a sense that they would be likely to be of use to others. In December 1897 his wife said to him, "Your book-bill is exceptionally large this term." "Yes," was the reply, "there were a number of special cases to be helped."

CHAPTER V

BIBLICAL WORK AND OPINIONS*

In this chapter a digression must be made from the regular story of our father's life, to gather together some of the main features of his scholarship and his opinions, and to describe as far as possible the characteristics of his accomplished and his projected work.

The record will be almost exclusively a record of work upon the Greek New Testament. This being so, it will be advisable to show first that the specialist was such from choice and not from necessity. Dr. Moulton's encyclopædic learning awed those who came into close contact with him. Not that he paraded it; he had a horror of expressing an opinion on anything which he had not studied to the degree his fastidious standard required. But his assistants and other close friends used to be always whispering of some new subject in which they had found the Doctor proficient.

A curious illustration may be mentioned in connection with the little memoir which the boy editors of the school magazine produced with loving care a fortnight after his death. In the reminiscences of an Old Leysian, now a missionary in China, there was a reference to the Doctor's teaching Chaucer. The printer substituted *Chinese*, and the master who was revising the proofs would have let it

* By James Hope Moulton.

stand; the mention of Chinese as taught to a future missionary by Dr. Moulton hardly raised a feeling of surprise.

As already narrated, he took his Master's degree in mathematics with the highest honours at the only University then open to a Nonconformist. At the same University he was for four years Examiner in Hebrew. We have some reason for believing that he read Arabic and Syriac. In Classics, though he probably never himself had a teacher for composition, he could teach with the best of Cambridge scholars. Anglo-Saxon and English he taught with rare appreciation. He used always to take the English subjects with candidates for the London intermediate or final B.A.; and on at least two occasions he wrote out for pupils full notes on an unedited book set, Chaucer's "Franklyn's Tale" and Lyly's "Euphues." The latter cost him almost as much labour as if he had been publishing an edition, and it was undertaken for a single pupil. As for modern languages, it may be mentioned that he took up Dante in the original as a recreation while recovering from the premonitory stroke of October 1895. He could read aloud from Dutch, and when one of his boys was learning Swedish he could not satisfy himself without following his work to some extent. French and German, of course, he knew thoroughly. There is at least one standard theological work widely used in this country, whose English readers little suspect the unspeakable badness of its original translation, and the unacknowledged labours by which Dr. Moulton, to whom it was submitted in proof, rescued it from general derision. How many other modern languages he understood one would not venture to say. In philosophy his knowledge was, characteristically enough, betrayed only by his setting and marking the papers of any young

minister who took a philosophical subject for his probationers' examination.

He was deeply interested in various branches of natural science, especially chemistry, on the teaching of which he had opinions evidently gained in practice. Music, and especially that of Handel, Mozart and Mendelssohn, was always a delight to him. In his earlier years he took the organ regularly at the chapel services of Wesley College, Sheffield. A tune of his, written for a favourite hymn of Charles Wesley's,* was sung at his funeral; nor is it the only composition standing to his credit. English literature he had read widely, including novels, which came to his relief when recovering from his too frequent attacks of incapacitating headache. His brother Richard, Professor of Literature in English at Chicago University, records that he himself "continually obtained information from him as to authorities on the obscurer parts of English and other literatures." He had a fine taste in poetry, and a profound love of hymns—beyond all others the richly spiritual and Scriptural hymns to be found in the "Poems of John and Charles Wesley." His wide knowledge of hymnology bore fruit in his labours in sub-committee with the late Dr. Osborn, which culminated in the edition of "Wesley's Hymns" (1876), used by Wesleyan Methodists throughout the kingdom as the regular hymnbook of the Church. In the latest years of his life he was again at work on this favourite subject, spending much time and labour over a friend's elaborate commentary upon the Hymnbook.

This sketch of a polymath's wide range of interests, though probably far from complete,† will serve in part to explain

* No. 674 in the "Wesleyan Hymnbook with Tunes."

† It does not, for instance, include an accomplishment like shorthand, which his boys discovered he had found time to learn. Several of his early MS. notes exhibit specimens.

his success as a teacher. It is time to turn to that sphere of study with which all his published work is concerned. His "Winer," his little "History of the English Bible" and the concise sketch of the same subject in the "Cambridge Companion to the Bible," his commentaries on St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and above all his work on the New Testament Revision Company, with its corollaries the marginal references and revision of the Apocrypha, all belong to the same field and may be considered as one whole. His work will be most suitably characterised by following its development in order of time. It was not a mere accident that his first book was a grammar. Grammar was the basis of all his work: his very sermons showed it, to those who knew his methods. He had learnt in his earliest studies how the great grammatical exegetes, Winer and Meyer, had rescued Holy Scripture from principles of interpretation which would conjure absolutely any desired meaning from the text;* and he set himself to teach students that minute grammatical analysis is, in the words of Winer's title, a "sure basis for New Testament exegesis." In taking up this line he was following a deep-rooted instinct of his own. He had taught himself Greek by thus analysing Thucydides; he took one book of the great writer and worked through it with the resolve that nothing should escape his scrutiny. In the poverty of helps the student of those days had to rely mainly on himself, which, for those who could survive such a discipline, was all the better. When, therefore, under Bishop Ellicott's encouragement, as described in an earlier chapter, he took up the editing of Winer, he was on very congenial and familiar ground.

The book is thoroughly characteristic of him. Winer's own work is faithfully translated, with two or three trifling

* Compare his own words quoted below, p. 186, note.

abridgments. The Editor's own additions, in which he has collected the results of English and German research, accumulated since Winer laid down his pen, are modestly stowed away in foot-notes between square brackets. They are, moreover, so much compressed that they would only occupy some six score pages out of eight hundred were they restored to large type. The book is accordingly disproportionate in scale; the record of the most recent research is given in the fewest possible words and in an inconspicuous position, while the advantages of space remain with Winer's original, much of which his very success has rendered superfluous and out of date. It was Dr. Moulton's settled purpose to rewrite the book in a form more convenient to English students, with large modifications and additions, gathered from the work of thirty years. At the time of his death the plan had progressed so far that younger collaborators had been chosen and had begun their work.

Of the labour lavished on this book a characteristic example will be found in the Index to Texts. It would have been a comparatively easy thing to record mechanically every page on which successive verses of the New Testament were mentioned. But this would often have merely confused the student by sending him for help to pages where nothing but the occurrence of a particular word is recorded. So he carefully selected the really material quotations, and catalogued them in an index which fills over fifty columns, and enables us to use the book as a complete grammatical commentary. One may fairly calculate that sixpence an hour for his work on the index alone would have made a hole in the profits of the first edition.

It is happily unnecessary to dilate on the merits of the "Winer."* From the first, English scholars have been

* See some notices above, pp. 82, 83.

unanimous. Their verdict may be summed up in the graceful words of Dr. Scrivener ("Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.," 3rd ed., p. 565): "Dr. Moulton's translation of Winer ought to be in the hands of every student, and leaves nothing to be regretted, except that accurate scholarship and unsparing diligence should have been expended on improving another man's work by one who is well able to produce a better of his own." Dr. Westcott's tribute may be added, from a letter written on the appearance of the second edition (1876), after the book had been out of print for some time. "You estimate your own work and the work of others by such different standards that I should despair of making you feel as I do. For the sake of students we can all rejoice that your work, so long inaccessible, is now again within reach of all."

It is not easy to describe in non-technical language the standpoint of Dr. Moulton's *magnum opus*, but the description concerns his principles of Bible study too closely to be left alone. In the early years of this century "grammar" was the science which enabled any word to be used for any other. "Your father Abraham rejoiced that he should see my day" was to be read "would have rejoiced if he had seen." And since great dogmatic difficulties arose from the words "of that day knoweth . . . not even the Son," the resources of "grammar" were equal to substituting "maketh known," on the convincing ground that *Hebrew* possesses a conjugation which would impart this causal meaning.* Winer and Meyer changed all that. They demonstrated that the New Testa-

* Some words of Dr. Moulton's may be quoted on this point from a letter to Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Clark, criticising one of Messrs. Clark's translated commentaries: the date is May 20, 1871. "Nothing has pained me so much as the translator's note on p. 198. He brings in, and fully accepts, one of those monsters of interpretation which we are trying with all our might to dismiss for ever into the regions of forgetfulness. I refer

ment writers had quite a remarkable gift for saying just what they meant, and were less chargeable with slovenliness and looseness of expression than even the much-lauded classical authors themselves. They taught us to seek an intentional difference of meaning when a different phrase was used, to determine scientifically the relations of Greek and English idiom, and so to interpret apparent anomalies as conveying finer shades of thought, and bolder and richer meanings. There was sometimes a danger lest too zealous students of this school might ignore the changes which four centuries had brought about in classical Greek, and seek for subtleties where none were to be found; though it cannot be said that Winer himself risks this charge to any considerable extent. In our own time the scientific study of all the periods lying between the classical language and modern Greek has led to something of a reaction against his severer canons. There is a tendency to treat Biblical Greek as if it had travelled the greater part of the distance between the classical and modern speech, so that constructions which are now merely commonplace must be denied life and vigour when occurring in the New Testament. Side by side with this is the assertion that when an Aramaic original is in question we must decline to differentiate in Greek two constructions which would be identical in the parent idiom. Dr. Moulton's views avoided extremes in both directions. The use of modern Greek was a feature of his grammar, and he would have been most ready to use now the abundant researches in this field which have been carried on during the last quarter of the

to the mixture of Hebrew and Greek—a Greek verb with the meaning of a Hebrew modification or conjugation. In all seriousness, I say that this single principle would make it possible to interpret the Epistle to the Galatians as a treatise on magnetism. It does seem as if Bengel and Winer and Meyer and many others must have lived in vain, when one sees such a note as this."

century. But when it comes to crediting the New Testament writers with a language in which most of the niceties of Greek have lost their clearness, and numerous locutions of distinct theological importance reduced to equivalence, he would cry halt.* His study of the sacred text had convinced him that its language was still precise and careful, however transitional the Greek might be.

The application of these principles to the great work of Bible translation may with advantage be taken up at this point. It has been often stated, last in the fascinating biography of Dr. Moulton's venerable colleague and friend, Dr. David Brown, that Dr. Moulton did not belong to the conservative side of the Revision Company. He belonged by close affinity of scholarship and principles to the Cambridge school, the illustrious contingent of teachers from the great University which adopted him while the Revision was in progress, and would have owned him from the first had her doors then been open to a Free Churchman. It is frequently assumed that this school dominated the Company. If it did, the majority which went with it fell very often below the two-thirds necessary for carrying a change. It is an instructive study to examine the marginal alternatives in the Revised Version, where they differ from the Authorised renderings or readings. The Revisers' Preface reminds us that many of these may have commanded the votes of a majority;† and the study of published work by individual

* For some examples I may refer to a notice of Blass's "New Testament Greek," in the *Critical Review* for April 1897. This article was carefully read in proof by my father, and, I believe, fairly represents his opinions.

† The importance of this point makes a good opportunity for quoting Dr. Moulton's own words, from his answer to a correspondent of the *Expository Times* (see below, p. 217), who asked about the relative value of text and margin in the R.V. He replied, "It is impossible to give any *general* judgment on this question. But one consideration is of great importance. It is well known that one rule of procedure by which the Com-

Revisers enables us to divine on which side some distinguished members were presumably found, except when they may have thought it wiser not to press their preference.

The principles of this group are virtually described in some sentences from Dr. Moulton's memorial sketch of Dr. Milligan in the volume of the *Expository Times* referred to above. Every word might be fitly transferred from his subject to himself.

"If we may adopt terminology now familiar, Dr. Milligan from first to last belonged emphatically to the 'Progressive' section of the Company. As was most natural (and, we will add, most desirable) conservative instincts held great power over many of the members, and appeared largely in our very numerous discussions on points of detail. Yielding to none in reverence for Holy Scripture, as the inheritance of learned and unlettered alike in Christ's Church and Kingdom, Dr. Milligan felt deeply and maintained strongly that such reverence was most fitly shown by a strenuous effort to make the English version a faithful and true presentation of the meaning conveyed by the original text. He feared lest the power of habit should lead him astray, and the witchery of familiar words blind him as a translator to any intimation

panies of Revision were bound was, that the Authorised Version should in no place be altered unless a majority consisting of at least two-thirds of the members voting approved of the alteration. If, therefore, an alternative rendering which stands in the margin of the Revised Version agrees with the Authorised Version, it is plain that in this instance as large a proportion as two-thirds of the Revisers voting must have disapproved of the rendering of the Authorised Version; and hence the rendering which stands in the text here carries great weight. If, on the other hand, the marginal rendering *differs from*, and the text *agrees with*, the Authorised Version, then it is possible—though by no means certain—that a majority of the Company (though not the requisite two-thirds) may here have disapproved of the Authorised Version, which, nevertheless, could not, according to rule, be changed."

of the inspired writer's thought. Hence his very manner and gesture, in the meetings of the Company, were those of a student who, however thorough might have been his preparatory labours, sought to look anew at each familiar sentence in the concentrated light of the present moment of investigation and debate. No reader of his various works will be surprised to hear that many a particular which to many might seem to be of smaller consequence, as belonging to the colouring which cannot be transferred from language to language rather than to substance and essential form, appeared (and in many cases, as I think, *rightly* appeared) to Dr. Milligan both interesting and important for our work of translation."

Two specimens may be given to illustrate the position of the section in the Company with which Dr. Moulton worked. The Prologue of St. John's Gospel contains an unusually large number of marginal alternatives, which we may find discussed in the Commentary published by himself and Dr. Milligan, and in that by Bishop Westcott. We can get evidence as to Bishop Lightfoot's views on the most important points involved from scattered notes in various works, and on questions affecting textual evidence we have Dr. Hort's judgment in his "Two Dissertations," and in the second volume of Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament. The results may be stated thus. The two Commentaries, representing three Revisers, agree in favour of the following margins which desert the A. V. *Through* for *by* (ver. 3, 10, and 17): so also the American Revisers. Ver. 3, putting the full stop after the first "*made*" ("That which hath been made was life in him"): here Lightfoot joins, but apparently not Hort. Ver. 5, *overcame* for *comprehended:* Lightfoot dissents. Ver. 13, *begotten* for *born.* Ver. 14, *tabernacled* for *dwelt:* so

also Lightfoot. Ver. 14, *an only begotten from a father:* Westcott here does not speak expressly as to the first *an.* Ver. 18, *God only begotten:* in this momentous reading the three are joined by Hort and Lightfoot. It follows that these three Revisers would have substituted the margin for the text in nine cases out of fifteen. Of the other six, three are literal renderings (given with "Gr."), which no one would place in a translation. Two of the remainder affect ver. 9, where both text and margin desert the A. V. On the chief question, the linking of the word *coming* with *light* instead of *man*, the three commentators go against the A. V. and therefore favour the first margin rather than the second, but they agree in preferring the new rendering of the R. V. text, which keeps the ambiguity of the Greek. The only other margin is the parenthesis "(*this was he that said*)" in ver. 15, which is supported by Westcott and Hort's Greek text, but with the other reading in the margin as nearly equal in authority. It will be seen that in St. John's Prologue the conservatives triumphed wherever there was a difference of opinion; but that the school represented by the five Revisers named were united, in almost every case, on the defeated side. The evidence of the First Revision, during which the two-thirds rule did not apply, shows that they were in an actual minority, except in the reading *God only begotten* (ver. 18), and the rendering *overcame* (ver. 5).

A letter from Dr. Moulton to Dr. Westcott, written while the First Revision was in progress, gives a further illustion of their common position. He describes the debate on the rendering of παράκλητος—how at first *Comforter* was accepted, then *Advocate* tried and lost by one vote: finally, *Paraclete* was carried by one vote. He himself decides for *Advocate* (R. V. marg.) in his Commentary. Writing to a Reviser during the early days of their work, he says:

"I have lately been thinking anxiously about our treatment of the passages in which this word occurs. I feared we should hardly carry a change, and yet could not see how *Comforter* could be allowed to stand."

Outvoted though he was on this and some other important points, he was yet able to write to Dr. Milligan ultimately: "We have finished St. John in the Revision—have lost very little indeed that is good."

It would be an interesting task to pursue this study further, but we must not give more than a summary bearing on Dr. Moulton's individual opinions. In his Commentary on Hebrews (1879), there are over thirty places where he agrees with the Revised Version margin against the Revised Version and the Authorised Version text; seventeen where he stands with the two-thirds majority which effected a change; and about twenty-four where he apparently joined the majority or large minority which resisted change. As before, the only places quoted are those where division of opinion in the Company was serious enough to find expression in marginal alternatives (not including those introduced by "Gr."). In ten places both text and margin differ from the Authorised Version, and in about as many more Dr. Moulton's vote is not indicated with certainty. It is significant that he is not once found to agree with the Authorised Version where it supplies the Revised Version margin.*

* One important passage might be mentioned in which he disagreed with the two-thirds majority that changed the A.V. This was Phil. i. 22, where he accepted the first margin (modified by the third); there were presumably other cases. One or two interesting passages may be added in which his view is not represented in either text or margin. In James i. 17 his "perfect *bounty*" may seem to some a better word than the Revisers' "*boon*." In the same epistle, ch. v. 4, he translated (with Alford and others) "the hire . . . which is kept back by fraud, crieth from your

Enough has been said to show that he was little influenced by mere conservatism when engaged on the duty of translation. For him the jots and tittles of Scripture were crumbs of bread from heaven; and he had found these minutiæ too richly laden with messages from on high for him to fling them away whenever reverent labour could gather them up. In determining the text translated, his mind was absolutely clear of prejudice. The best attested reading must be found by evidence excluding subjective considerations as much as possible, and then the meaning must be patiently sought and represented in English. Shallow critics would often declare that the resultant reading made no sense—a favourite phrase with those judicial scholars who do not care to take the trouble necessary for the detection of what lies beneath the surface. His reply would be a careful search which generally revealed a subtler and more appropriate meaning than the obvious and easy corrections of later scribes. In textual criticism he clung to the oldest documentary evidence even more strictly than his friend Dr. Hort, in that he practically refused to admit conjectural readings. Perhaps in this he will seem old-fashioned to those who are bitten by the seductive speculations which the revival of interest in the Western Text has lately called forth. But when we remember how small a proportion of the most brilliant conjectures find a permanent place in the classical texts we read to-day, it is impossible to doubt that the scholar who almost absolutely refuses conjecture its part in New Testament criticism

coffers"; and in ch. v. 16 he took ἐνεργουμένη as *passive*, "the *inwrought* supplication." A more important difference from his colleagues concerns the rendering *testament* for διαθήκη, which he would not admit even in Heb. ix. 16, 17. Here, as in so many other critical questions, he is in independent agreement with his friend Bishop Westcott, who, in his "Hebrews" (1889), explains the passage in virtually the same way.

stands generally on safe ground. Not that he was insensible to the peculiar fascination of conjecture exercised by a master. Often he would come out of his library after a prolonged Apocrypha Revision session, gleefully retailing some brilliant restoration which Dr. Hort's almost uncanny insight had brought out. But that of course creates no presumption in favour of conjecture in the New Testament, where witnesses are so abundant and so excellent.

The warm and effective support which he consistently gave to the reforming school in matters of text makes it desirable to spend a little more space on this side of the Revisers' work. An interesting letter from Archdeacon Palmer, written when Dean Burgon's *Quarterly* rhetoric was still "tickling the ears of the groundlings," expresses the conviction of the most far-seeing Revisers that on this question of text the Revised Version must ultimately stand or fall.

"If the public, or any large part of it," says Dr. Palmer, "goes off with the idea that Burgon is substantially right about the Greek Text, a very high shelf will be the inevitable home of our Revision. . . . We shall *live down* all other criticisms. They are, for the most part, mere 'flouts and gibes'; the other part of them is founded upon more or less fair diversities of opinion on points of grammatical exegesis, on which *unanimity* will never be attained."

Dr. Palmer has passed to that serene realm from which now nearly all the Revisers watch without anxiety the progress of the truth on earth; but there are signs that survivors may well interpret as the fulfilment of his prophecy. Dr. Moulton heartily agreed with it, as may be seen from his letter to Dr. Hort,* when he forwarded to him Dr. Palmer's opinion, and strongly urged that the Dean should be answered.

* Pp. 100, 101.

The desiderated champion was not found, no one, at least, to match the assailant in immediate popularity. But quiet exposition like that of Bishop Westcott * has been producing its natural effects; and the fairness and common sense of the public have apparently set down at its proper valuation the arrogant conceit and the reckless mis-statements of fact and imputations of motive † with which the Dean had attacked the Revisers.

It is hardly necessary to state that the modicum of reason and argument which diligent search may occasionally find in the *Quarterly* articles was not rejected unheard in the Jerusalem Chamber. A minority, led by the learned Dr. Scrivener, secured for the "Received Text" much more respectful treatment than the antiquity of its witnesses warranted. It must not be supposed that this minority was inclined to say ditto to the doughty Dean, or would have found his advocacy other than an embarrassment. To quote Dr. Palmer again, Dean Burgon "really involves his friends Dr. Scrivener and Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln ‡ in one ruin with us. It would be well that this were brought home to the public, especially as his way of praising these two might be taken to imply the contrary." We may fairly assume that where there is no marginal note recording a various reading, the Revisers were practically unanimous in voting for a change. Certainly Dr. Scrivener would never have been denied a refuge in the margin where he pressed for it. We infer that in very many important passages Dr. Scrivener allowed conservatism to yield to argument. That was not Burgon's way. He settled his text first, and then sought for

* "Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament," 1897.

† A review of Burgon's "The Revision Revised," by Dr. Thayer, one of the most distinguished of the American Revisers, gives chapter and verse for each of these points in plenty.

‡ Not the Reviser, Charles Wordsworth, whose see was in Scotland.

arguments, the poverty of which was veiled by a very effective rhetoric. The "traditional" text for him is warranted by "the Church"—and there's an end of the matter. To discover "the Church" in matters of textual criticism was worthy of his ingenuity and very characteristic of his school.

Dr. Moulton's objection to all the champions of the "Received Text" would have been based mainly upon their incurable subjectivity. Even in Dr. Scrivener's scholarship the reader cannot get away from the consciousness that conservative sentiment carries inordinate weight. For example, in discussing the *Gloria* he almost vies with Burgon in strength of language, not against the insufficient evidence for the change—and, of course, in this place the evidence is much less overwhelming than usual—but against the marring of rhythm and sense. Dr. Hort's arrangement—

> "Glory to God in the highest and upon earth;
> Peace among men of His good pleasure"—

he thinks sufficiently condemned by mentioning it. But two can play at this game of subjective criticism, and when scholars of equal learning find both rhythm and sense improved by the change, we are thrown back on the evidence, from which we ought never to have strayed. Dr. Moulton, if a strong impression may be trusted, was decidedly in favour of Hort's view. And if he had been asked what he thought of "men of God's good pleasure," he would probably have illuminated the phrase after his manner with a quotation from Charles Wesley, interpreting the angels' song by reference to the

> "well-beloved Son
> In whom Thy smiling face we see,
> In whom Thou art well pleased with me.'

The text settled, there came the practical interpretation of

the instruction "to introduce as few alterations as possible, consistently with faithfulness." It has been already shown that "faithfulness" is a more exacting mistress for some scholars than for others. But however determined Dr. Moulton was to sacrifice no real, however minute, improvement in obedience to this instruction, he did not advocate change out of any failure to appreciate the Authorised Version. On this point it will be well to quote his own words, from his "History of the English Bible," published three years before the Revised New Testament saw the light:

"It would be premature to speculate on the character of the Revised Version, or on the reception which awaits it. On one point, however, no apprehension will be entertained by any who have studied the constitution of the companies or the rules which guide their action. There will be no attempt to introduce a new translation under the mask of revision. The bond which has united the several versions which have successively been given to the English people will not now be broken. Amongst those who meet in the Jerusalem Chamber are found some of the most careful students of our early English Bibles; and the labours of Tindale and Coverdale and their noble followers are never forgotten in the discussions on the sacred text. In the last century the chief aim of revisers may have been to depart as widely as possible from the severe style and simple language of the Authorised Version. The highest praise sought by any now engaged in revision is that they may be held to have removed the blemishes without impairing the excellence of our revered English Bible."

This passage does not stand alone in the "History," and its sentiment was repeated fourteen years later in the compendious sketch of the same subject in the *Cambridge*

Companion. He is never weary of praising the splendid qualities of Tindale's version, from which nearly ninety per cent. of the Authorised New Testament is taken. In spite of all the incurious criticism which has been lavished on the Revisers' work, there is no doubt that the claim made by one of the most radical of them, in the words quoted above, is not only sincere but also justified by facts. The amount of change—most of it necessitated by the discovery of Greek manuscripts a thousand years older than those used by the translators of 1611—*is* a minimum; and if the work had been done by the small Cambridge Company which afterwards translated Second Maccabees and Wisdom, future generations would probably have regarded their larger changes as a minimum also. This incursion into prophecy is suggested by a conversation reported in Dr. David Brown's "Life." Dr. Brown tells us:

"I said to my friend, Dr. Moulton, who voted for nearly all the changes to which the minority objected, 'This version of ours will never do; the public will never take to it.' 'Oh yes, they will; only give them time to get accustomed to it.' 'They never will,' was my answer; and we now know who was right."

It is curious to notice how manifestly Dr. Brown's too positive declaration is being disproved. The Revised Version is already at least as favourably placed as the Authorised was twenty years after its publication. "For half a century the rival versions (Authorised and Genevan) circulated side by side," says the "History" just referred to; and the A. V. had its Burgon in a critic at least as learned, and, within smaller compass, almost equally vitriolic. Dr. Moulton was not much disturbed by criticism, whether that of a learned Dean or that of another critic who rushed into print with the naïve admission that he knew no Greek. He would tell with infinite relish a story of a rather different

kind of critic, a good old Methodist, who waxed warm in the class-meeting about the Bible and the rumours he had heard that we were to have a new Bible! "We don't want a new Bible! The old Bible took my father to heaven, and it'll take me.

> Should all the forms that men devise
> Assault my faith with treacherous art,
> I'd call them vanity and lies
> And bind Thy Gospel to my heart!"

One kind of criticism he did chafe at. Dr. Field, a great scholar who ought to have known better, called the version "fifth-form English," and others sneered at the Revisers' "pedantry." The ungrudging and unremunerated labours of scholars, whose years of hard work had no other aim than promoting the knowledge of God's Word, deserved less ungracious treatment than these shallow sneers. Dr. Moulton could understand the exaltation of euphony above accuracy in men like Matthew Arnold, for whom the Bible was mainly mere literature, but it was unintelligible in those who really believed that the Book contained a divine revelation. Two further remarks might be hazarded on the smart criticism that the Revisers knew Greek very well, but did not know their mother tongue. First, let any sane critic study the English of the Book of Wisdom, as translated by the ringleaders of those scholars whose "needless" alterations "spoilt the music" of the Authorised New Testament. Secondly, let any candid student listen to Dr. Moulton's "Give them time." There are those who have used the Revised New Testament exclusively in public and private since it first appeared; and if in common fairness readers will give the Revision only half as long a trial, they will find familiarity investing its English style with all the charm and melody of which the Old Version is supposed to hold the

monopoly. It is flatly impossible for any one to judge the Revisers' English fairly until their work has unconsciously supplied him with his quotations—till the Old Version has come to strike on the ear with a kind of novelty, and hallowed associations are transferred to the new Bible, which is nearest to *the* Bible. Generally speaking, such conditions cannot be fulfilled in the first generation, and that is why the Authorised Version still remains popular. But surely it is a small thing to ask those who listen for a divine voice in Scripture to let it speak to them in words chosen by the best and most reverent scholarship of our time as most nearly representing the meaning of the original.

A few words must be given at this point to one of the two special functions which devolved upon Dr. Moulton during the Revision, his responsibility for presenting the renderings of the older English versions. The Revisers throughout paid close attention to these, in order to keep up their principle of continuity. Their English was to be of the same general style as that which has for centuries been associated with the English Bible, and they rigidly excluded even words otherwise appropriate when they were likely to jar by their modernity. Dr. Moulton made extensive studies in the Old Versions for this purpose. A collation of the versions was made by his wife, with the help of the junior members of the family, who were privileged to assist in the Revision by reading aloud from the old black-letter Bibles. The fruit of his studies in this field appeared in a series of articles for Dean Plumptre's "Bible Educator," which were reprinted in the "History" already alluded to. Unpretentious as the little book appears, there was a great amount of research involved in it. Among the impressions brought away from the reading of this deeply interesting history two may be specially mentioned. One is the confirmation by further research of

the view urged by Dr. Westcott, that our English Bible is in all its most essential features the work of one man. William Tindale, indeed, played in England a part little less commanding than that of Martin Luther in Germany. The other is the striking fact that in many of their best-abused emendations the Revisers have only gone back to words and phrases which were hallowed by English use before the Authorised translators were born.

At an early period in their work the New Testament Company arranged to issue a body of marginal references to their work. The preparation of these was assigned to Drs. Scrivener, Roberts, Vance Smith and Moulton. Practically the work was done by the first and last named, though the results were shown to the other two and discussions followed on some general points.* Dr. Scrivener had already achieved a monumental work in the "Cambridge Paragraph Bible," with its elaborate system of references, and he supplied the groundwork of those which were now attached to the Revised Version. But as the work went on very large additions were made by Dr. Moulton; and when the whole was presented to the Company not long before it broke up, the limits of possible extension had been very nearly reached, especially in St. John and the Epistles. The editors' conception of what was possible and desirable had considerably enlarged during the process; and they had to present the Synoptic Gospels in a confessedly imperfect state, to be brought up to the fuller standard by subsequent revision. That revision

* It should perhaps be remarked, in view of the prejudice roused in many quarters by the inclusion of a Unitarian among the Revisers, that while Dr. Vance Smith's opinions were always listened to and considered on their merits, they were not allowed to modify either the translation or the references in any point where doctrinal bias came in. The inclusion of a Unitarian, like the invitation of a Roman Catholic (Dr. Newman), was intended to secure the due consideration of every kind of opinion.

has been going on ever since, and will have to be completed by other hands. Dr. Scrivener, through failing health, did comparatively little at the work after the Revision closed, and his colleague, though he gave to it unremitting labour in those parts of the vacations which were not mortgaged to the School, had only finished St. John and the Acts when he was called aside to prepare the abridged edition. The word "finished" happily is one of variable meaning; and though Dr. Moulton would probably have taken months if not years of unoccupied time to "finish" the whole New Testament up to his own standard, it is not likely that want of fulness will be complained of when those who have worked under him transcribe and arrange on his lines the material he has left. The plan of the work makes it too elaborate for any but real students: those however who use it as it is meant to be used, will find themselves placed as nearly as possible on the level of readers of the Greek. The references in most cases aim at being *complete*. Every example of a phrase or word notable in theology or antiquities or history, or as a mark of a writer's style, and every occurrence of a proper name (except when very common), will be found collected at some place to which all parallel places refer. Noteworthy combinations are collected, and the index letters set at each item show the student exactly how far the reference carries. Even words and phrases whose commonness defeats such treatment are often brought in, when of sufficient importance, by division among various parts of the New Testament. Besides all this, there is, of course, the ordinary matter expected in a set of marginal references, the marking of parallel passages, allusions and quotations. Precision in the notation is a constant aim. Two passages are rarely connected directly unless the Greek is as close as the English: where the similarity is general, the Greek expression differing,

the symbol *Cp.* is used. Practically the work is a commentary in small compass. Wherever it is possible to interpret a passage by quoting a parallel, this is done. Both text and margin are fairly dealt with, and various legitimate interpretations are allowed a place when they lend themselves to this mode of presentation.

It is impossible for any one who has not tried it to imagine the labour involved in this minute and complicated work. The extent of Dr. Moulton's revision may be read between the lines of the following letter to Dr. Hort, written in February 1892, ten years after the original references might have been published:

"I have not recently touched on the question of marginal references in any conversation with you, principally because I have been so much troubled by the delay that, in spite of all my efforts, has taken place. You will remember that the matter was left to Dr. Scrivener and myself. I found that so much—so very much—was needed to bring up the Gospels to the standard of the later books, that I worked (with Dr. Scrivener's full approval) at these for a long period. These have been completed, though St. John is not in print. But my interruptions of the last two years have prevented me from making any material advance. I think the whole can be completed next year. I have in all devoted a very large amount of time to the work; and (except the small contribution* to the forthcoming Cambridge 'Aids') I have done nothing in the way of private work to the neglect of this work."

Perhaps a small specimen will indicate better than any description what the student may expect when the toils of so

* "History of the English Bible," in the "Cambridge Companion to the Bible" (1893).

many years are at length given to the world. The specimen is taken almost at random from a part which Dr. Moulton had "absolutely finished," to use the phrase we would often repeat, with some idea that the repetition might perchance act as a charm against the temptation to emend yet further.

ACTS XVI.

29 And he called for lights, and [a]sprang in, and, trembling[,] for fear,
30 [b]fell down before Paul and [c]Silas, and brought them out, and said,
31 sirs, [d e]what [f]must I do [g]to be saved? [e f]And they said, [h i]Believe on
[j]the Lord Jesus, and [i]thou shalt be [k]saved, [m]thou and thy house.
32 And they spake[n] the word of [l]the Lord unto him, [m]with all that were in his house.

[l] Some ancient authorities read [o]*God*.

[a] *Cp.* Mark x. 50; ch. xiv. 14. [b] Ch. x. 25. [c] *See* ch. xv. 22. [d] Luke iii. 10, 12, 14; ch. ii. 37; xxii. 10. [e] *Cp.* John vi. 28, 29. [f] See ch. iv. 12. [g] *Cp.* ver. 17. [h] *See* ch. x. 43. [i] Mark xvi. 16; Luke viii. 12; Rom. x. 9; 1 Cor. i. 21; Eph. ii. 8. *Cp.* John iii. 15, 16, 17; Heb. x. 39; James ii. 14. *See* Mark x. 52. [j] *See* ch. i. 21. [k] Ch. ii. 21, 47; xi. 14; xv. 1, 11. *See* ch. iv. 12. [m] Ch. xi. 14. *Cp.* ver. 15. [n] *See* ch. xv. 35. [o] *See* ch. xi. 1.

This specimen, which is transcribed from MS. with one or two alterations affecting only the form, is an average example of the apparatus for Scripture study which this book will provide. The reader will find in every passage quoted here an index-letter standing at the word or words affected, which sends him back to this passage and incidentally shows the precise nature of the link. When *See* is prefixed there will be found at the place cited a collection of illustrative passages. Since all these are implicitly cited here, we find that these four verses of Acts xvi. are interpreted for the diligent searcher of Scripture by reference to *ninety-seven* verses; and even this does not include other collections included (with "*See*") in some of the collections directly referred to. The preacher returning to this well-worn theme will surely find in such material "things new and old" wherewith to wing afresh the evangelic message.

The specimen illustrates well the extent of Dr. Moulton's revision. In the references as presented to the Revision Company in 1880, this passage is equipped with only five index letters instead of fourteen, which cite directly or indirectly a total of twenty-eight verses. The disproportion is, of course, greater than usual, for this is a passage richly strewn with leading doctrinal phrases, which Dr. Moulton was most anxious to treat as fully as space would permit. The ordinary Authorised Version in its reference edition has two index-letters in this section, citing seven verses. Dr. Scrivener's Paragraph Bible has six letters, citing nearly forty verses. These figures will not, of course, be taken as intended to establish a numerical ratio between Dr. Moulton's work and that of his predecessors, but they will serve to indicate on how generous a scale this interpretation of Scripture by itself is planned. A little study of the specimen will enable the reader to realise how slow a task it was. Take, for instance, the evolution of a reference like "[1]," for the connection between *faith* and *salvation.* First came the decision that it was desirable, then the investigation whether it was *mechanically* possible. Where a subject was very wide this involved making a big collection of passages, often with no other result than a decision, after many trials, that the list could not find room anywhere. The possibility once established, the list of illustrative passages had to be laboriously constructed and sifted, mostly with concordance, but also with the aid of every available reference Bible and the best commentaries. Then came the insertion of a cross-reference at every passage which had thus been included in the collection. And when this was done it was often found that the page was over-burdened and the "fons" (as we called the collection) must go elsewhere—which, of course, meant altering all the cross-references. Purely mechanical work like this occupied

a disproportionate amount of time, and yet it was work that could not be delegated. A peculiarly trying variety came in with the proof stage, for then the addition of a single new reference would often involve the alteration of index letters through several pages. It will easily be understood that a single point would sometimes take up a whole morning, for Dr. Moulton's extreme carefulness made him anything but a rapid worker. It is characteristic of him that this work is largely associated with his summer "holiday" in Scotland, Devonshire, or Derbyshire, whither he would take his books and work hard through sunny mornings, his family endeavouring in vain to induce him to put away his work till sundown or till a rainy day.

Dr. Moulton's hand in work of this kind is traceable in the pages of one great achievement of scholarship which came before the world about the same time as the Revised New Testament. All Greek Testament students are gratefully familiar with the uncial type in Westcott and Hort's text, and with the appended list of Old Testament passages to which that type refers the reader. "The list," the editors tell us, "has had the benefit of a careful and thorough examination by Dr. Moulton. We are much indebted to him for the labour he has bestowed upon it, and also for many excellent suggestions." It was the only evidence of his labours in this field which he was destined to see in a published book. In 1895 the University Presses determined to issue a complete edition of the Revised Version with marginal references, and he undertook to abridge for this edition the work on which he had been engaged so long. In these later years he seemed to get less and less time to himself, and the necessity of early publication made it clearer than ever that his part would not be ready unless he secured further help. By a happy coincidence the Press

Syndics named another of his own old boys, the Rev. A. W. Greenup,* who had already prepared the references for the Pentateuch. He abridged and adapted for this purpose Dr. Moulton's completed references on St. John and Acts, and those on Romans to Revelation in the form in which they had been presented to the Revisers seventeen years before. The latter had received little beyond consequential alterations in the interval; but the scale in this part was already so elaborate that Dr. Moulton had decided on making very little addition. Meanwhile he himself took up St. Matthew, the section which had suffered most from the narrower view of possibilities at first entertained by him and by Dr. Scrivener alike. In a series of sessions, painfully limited by the accumulations of his public and private work, as well as by school teaching, we managed to finish St. Matthew, and St. Mark and St. Luke were left to be drafted upon its model. Mr. Greenup, in the meantime, was pushing ahead with a rapidity calculated to make a busy schoolmaster envious, and Dr. Moulton had to defer to the proof stage the revision of his work. When the proofs came, he went over St. John, a sheet containing Ephesians and Philippians with the end of Galatians and the beginning of Colossians, and the early chapters of St. Matthew and Acts. Matt. i. 1 to ix. 25 was sent for revise on January 26, Acts i. 1 to x. 22 sent for press on January 29, 1898. At Acts xiv. 2 there is a note in his book, "Begin at top of this page," indicating that he had made his preliminary collation up to that point. Alas! it was another who began at the top of that page the saddest task of his life. But the amount of revision Dr. Moulton had accomplished enabled him to record his great satisfaction with the admirable way in which Mr. Greenup had done his work, and at the same time to indicate the general

* Now Principal of St. John's Theological Hall, Highbury.

character of the improvements he would have introduced in revision; so that ultimately his labours were presented substantially as he would have wished. His thoughts were busy with them to the very end. Memoranda, pencilled in a strong firm hand on a letter of Mr. Greenup's, were written to guide my answer just before he started for the walk in the midst of which his Master called him. So, with a diligence that shrank from no toil, the scholar strove to "present himself approved to God, a workman that needed not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth."

The edition just described was published in October 1898, and it needs, therefore, nothing of the detailed account necessary for the large work that is still incomplete. It is, of course, very much less elaborate, as the book was severely limited by considerations of space. Thus, in the four verses given above, seven index letters disappear, and only twenty-four of the ninety-seven parallels survive. Even thus the page is nearly full, and the scale considerably in advance of almost all existing works. The condensation has been achieved mainly by sacrificing references bearing on words apart from thoughts, and by abandoning the attempt to make the lists of parallels *complete*. The larger Reference New Testament will be a work entirely *sui generis*, and a characteristic monument of the two Revisers to whom it is due.

Last among the subsidiary labours connected with the Revision comes the translation of the Apocrypha. The Preface to this was put together by Dr. Moulton out of the materials supplied by the four Committees which shared the work. The dates given there show vividly what unlimited pains were taken by the Cambridge Committee, to which fell the Second Book of Maccabees and the Book of Wisdom. During nine years Dr. Westcott and Dr. Hort came with

almost unfailing regularity to The Leys for weekly meetings during Term. The secretary, Dr. Moulton, kept the minutes with a scrupulous accuracy thoroughly characteristic of him. Only once is the time of breaking up left out, and very frequently this is given to the minute. Altogether there is a record of 207 sessions, between March 3, 1881, and January 14, 1892, averaging just under $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours each. This is a considerable time allowance for translating books which only fill some seventy columns of print in a minion edition: it works out at something like eight hours a column in actual session, exclusive of all the time spent by the individual scholars in private work and in correspondence together. The meetings of the three Revisers came to a much regretted end when, in 1890, Cambridge lost Dr. Westcott. The two worked on, and the Bishop made time to join them by post. From first to last it seems they spent five years and a half on each of these Books. Second Maccabees seemed hardly worth all that labour, as even Dr. Moulton was half constrained to confess; but the work was a duty, and nothing on earth could induce any of the triumvirate to bate one jot of the claims their conscience made on their time. The Book of Wisdom was a very different matter. The translators lingered lovingly over a masterpiece which repaid them for any amount of toil. Three times they went over it, and even then there were points reserved. Dr. Hort worked at these and left notes on them: before his colleagues could consider these, the great scholar had passed away. Of the translation, as a proof that the art of writing English prose was not finally lost after 1611, one could find much to say. But a less partial and more competent witness may be cited in the *Times* reviewer, who in a long and discriminating criticism of the Revised Apocrypha (December 1895) wrote thus of the Cambridge Committee's work:

"The result [on Wisdom] is worthy of the time and labour so ungrudgingly bestowed upon the task by three of the greatest Biblical scholars of the century, and stands out as the masterpiece in the volume before us. Just as in the revision of the Old Testament, one of the most difficult books—we mean the Book of Job—is one of the most successful portions of the work, so the difficulty of the Book of Wisdom seems to have put its revisers on their mettle and challenged them to exert their full strength, with the most felicitous results. . . . It is difficult to make choice of a passage for quotation where so many lie ready to hand; but the fine description of Wisdom in ch. vii. 22 strikes us as a masterpiece in translation, vigorous, terse and faithful, in contrast to the somewhat inexact and paraphrastic style of the Authorised Version. . . . The version is sufficiently striking in itself; but its real merits can only be appreciated after a careful comparison of it with the original Greek and the Authorised Version. . . . Of the Second Book of Maccabees it is sufficient to say that it was revised by the same company of scholars who undertook the Book of Wisdom; and presents the same characteristic of strong and skilful work."

Dr. Moulton had not done with the Apocrypha when the last reluctant touches had been laid upon the Book of Wisdom. The whole Apocrypha had to be seen through the press by somebody. Why the "somebody" for this nobody's business was sought in the Secretary of the Committee which had worked the longest by several years, we never quite understood: we vaguely connected it with a law of nature by which our father was appointed residuary legatee of all the work that went begging. This matter proved no sinecure. The several Committees had in many points adopted different procedure, and it was not always easy to recover the necessary information in a case where perhaps only one active member survived from a Committee which had completed its task ten years before. Even then the work was not over, for the Greek readings had to be pub-

lished, and the same inexorable law of nature marked him as the man for this task also. The serious part of it was that the readings underlying the Authorised Version had to be ascertained before the Revisers' variants could be noted. Thus the Aldine, Roman, and Complutensian texts of Second Maccabees and Wisdom had to be collated for him, to afford a basis for this investigation. He finished this part, and would doubtless have proceeded in the same style with the lists of readings supplied by the other Committees, but the peremptory call of the Marginal References drew him away. A note now appended to the Preface of the Apocrypha states that this work is abandoned since his death.

Not much space can be given to Dr. Moulton's Commentaries, the external history of which is noted elsewhere. That there are only two of them is, of course, the result of his prodigal expenditure of time on the School. He was at various periods under promise to write on books in most parts of the Bible. Thus in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools" he was pledged twenty years ago to edit Nahum, Habakkuk, and Thessalonians. And after the last of these had been reluctantly given up he was tempted by the promise of a liberal time allowance to edit Wisdom in this series, and Romans in the "Cambridge Greek Testament;" and one at least of these promises was only dissolved by his death. He undertook to write on Wisdom for the new "Bible Dictionary," but the pressure of his work in the last year or two reduced his characteristic hopefulness, and he was only induced by the editor's kind persistence to leave his name a little longer on the contributors' list. He said to me a few weeks before he died that he did not expect he should ever accomplish the work. The two Commentaries he did publish were achieved in days which were presumably less overladen, though we did not think at the time that more could

ever be forced into the day than he contrived when the School was young. Probably he never enjoyed any work quite so much as his labours on St. John's Gospel with his dear friend Dr. Milligan. The Fourth Gospel to him was always the very holy of holies in the temple of Scripture. His very last public utterance, at the Cambridge Free Church Council's "Quiet Day" on January 12, 1898, was an exposition of the great seventeenth chapter. All we know about the relative share taken by the two editors in the Commentary is included in the short note prefacing the re-issue of 1898. The feature which will most strike those who use this book is its extraordinary minuteness. Every detail is searched for a profound significance by methods built entirely on the study of St. John's work as a whole. The authors anticipated the complaint of over-subtlety which is likely to be made by many who read their work. They deliberately justify it in their Introduction, and express the confidence that the Gospel will itself compel faithful students to find even more in it than they have done. Of course in details it does not follow that conviction will always be secured, nor, indeed, that the editors themselves felt equal confidence in interpretations originated by each in turn. Dr. Moulton was sometimes asked whether he still held to some particular point, and gave the reply that Dr. Milligan had suggested it, and he himself was less in favour than he had been. But though internal evidence may occasionally betray the one author or the other to those who intimately know their habits of thought, as surely as the pretty Scotticism "awanting" indicates which of them drafted a page of the Introduction, the general agreement was complete. It is not a little remarkable that the same broad principles of interpretation should be so evident in the great Commentary of Dr. Westcott, which appeared as the last pages of their

work were being printed off. The agreement of three such scholars may at least bespeak a respectful hearing for an exegesis which will seem more and more reasonable as the student pursues more closely the kind of reverent and minute investigation from which they developed their principles. Of Dr. Moulton's continued belief in the method there is evidence in notes of a series of readings he gave in a devotional Greek Testament class which he took with a few University men between October 1885 and March 1887. We met generally for an hour a week in full term, and he went minutely over the Greek text from the twelfth to the end of the sixteenth chapter, on which section of the Gospel there are, therefore, indications of his views as they stood when he had studied Dr. Westcott's great work. There is absolutely no trace of a changed standpoint, only an increasingly sober and balanced insight into language in which he was convinced there was nothing accidental, nothing that was not the product of the profoundest thought and the most minutely careful expression to be found in literature.

It was in these oral expositions of Scripture that he was seen at his very best. Speaking directly from the untranslated words of inspiration, to those who knew the language well enough to need no elementary explanations by the way, and speaking under circumstances which enabled him to ignore the ordinary conditions of public utterance, he thought his way aloud through the sacred text, bringing out at every turn fresh light even upon that which was most familiar. We learnt that in one sense familiarity is a positive obstacle to the study of Holy Writ, that only when familiar words and cadences are put aside, and the most rigidly exact renderings secured for the immediate purpose, can one become truly receptive to meanings which lie behind the obvious.*

* Compare Dr. Moulton's own words quoted above, p. 189.

Memories of his exposition of the Feet-washing are specially vivid. It seems peculiarly appropriate that at the end of his exposition here is found a note, recalling the whole spirit of his Winer, on the "wonderful adaptation of this New Testament Greek for the complete and exact reflection of deep thought, the gain in distinctness and plainness which it secures by being more analytic, as compared with the classical idiom, framed to express ideas more neatly and compactly."

One more work remains to be mentioned, also on ground which was later on to be occupied by a kindred spirit in Dr. Westcott, who had written simultaneously on St. John's Gospel, and preceded him on the History of the English Bible. His exposition of Hebrews, in Bishop Ellicott's "New Testament Commentary for English Readers," had an advantage which was denied the work on St. John, until the posthumous re-issue of that work in a separate form. The great name of the Editor, with the excellence of the commentaries brought together by him, accounts for the large circulation of a work which has lately been republished in sixpenny parts to reach a yet wider circle of readers. Severe limitation of space, and the almost total exclusion of detailed discussion on points of special difficulty, are drawbacks to be set against the advantage of a larger public. Some points have already been mentioned from the exegesis of this Epistle, the only published example we have of Dr. Moulton's individual exposition. His decision in favour of Apollos as a probable author has especial interest for those who like to compare God's servants of to-day with predecessors who showed gifts of a similar kind. The tablet which, on the wall above the spot where he used to worship, recalls "the letters of his name and the number of his years," applies to him the words of St. Luke in introducing Apollos, "A learned man, and he was mighty in the Scriptures; and

being fervent in spirit he taught carefully the things concerning Jesus."

As has been already implied, work done for other scholars occupied a large amount of Dr. Moulton's time. Under this head should really come one book which, by no wish of his, bore his name. The need of a Concordance to the modern critical texts of the Greek Testament had been borne in upon him often enough in researches on grammar or marginal references. It was likely therefore that he would encourage any one who ventured to face the colossal labour involved. The volunteer presented himself in the person of the Rev. A. S. Geden, son of an Old Testament Reviser, and himself a successor of Dr. Moulton's in the Classical Tutorship at Richmond College. The guarantee of the Editor of Winer induced Messrs. T. and T. Clark to confer yet another boon on Biblical students by the publication of this extremely costly work. Dr. Moulton had always intended to make this guarantee effective by carrying out a rigid test ; but the proofs had only just begun to come in—far too fast for him to keep pace with them—when he was suddenly prostrated by the stroke which warned him, all too ineffectually, that he must learn how to rest awhile. In the inception of the work he had helped with plentiful counsel; and now, when it proved impossible to remove his name from a work for which he felt he had not done enough, he was eager to do whatever he could upon the final proofs, and accomplished much in the last stage.

It would be difficult, and hardly worth while, to draw up a full list of the books which he read in manuscript or in proof, and enriched with his suggestions. Were such a list made out, it would convey but a weak impression of the quantity of labour he would gladly give to others. The grateful words of his friend Mr. Scott Lidgett, in the Preface to his Fernley Lecture on the Atonement (1897) are an expression of

feelings shared by many. "To Dr. Moulton I am deeply indebted for the care with which he read my manuscript, and for the invaluable suggestions he made. It is due to his generous encouragement that I have been enabled to complete the book at this time, and in its present form. At every critical stage of my active life his guidance has been unfailing, and by it, more than by any other human influence, the course of my ministerial work has been shaped." A few days after his death a letter arrived from South Africa with a request that he would examine sheets of a projected Biblical work which would be sent to him every month till all were ready for press; and the enclosure of the first sheet illustrated how he had accustomed his friends to take his help for granted. Some quotations have already been made from the voluminous collection of letters he wrote to Professor Findlay while studying his friend's notes on Thessalonians in the "Cambridge Bible for Schools." I cannot leave out here my own indebtedness, for my experience better than anything else enables me to understand how much this work for others meant. Even letters to the newspapers were not too trivial for his careful consideration; and when it came to work on the Greek of the New Testament, I am almost ashamed to think how much of his precious time I absorbed. The knowledge, however, that on many subjects I have his endorsement of opinions originally evolved to a greater or less extent out of his teaching, will be of great importance in any future efforts that may be made to glean a little more of the rich harvest of his mind.

The foregoing pages describe all the published work by which he is known. Whether the addition of two or three prefaces and occasional fragments would make it a complete record of all that came from his pen, we can hardly tell.

There is a posthumous paper of his on the Communion of Saints, written in 1883, which was published in the *London Quarterly Review* for April 1899. Twice he contributed to the *Expository Times*, and the first of these contributions is only an answer to a query about the margins of the R. V. (vol. v. 1894, p. 239), which is cited almost entire above.* The other, in the same volume (p. 247), was a nine-column notice of his dear friend and colleague, Dr. Milligan, from which have been already cited some characteristic words. Allusion is made elsewhere to most of the official utterances which may be found reported in the Methodist papers of his Presidential year. The mere attempt to catalogue these *opera minora* demonstrates better than anything else how exclusively any estimate of his scholarship must rest upon the works we have been endeavouring to describe in detail. They would make a poor show, certainly, if weighed in a grocer's scale against the productions of many a scholar with half his learning. But their quality will be a lasting memorial of the busy teacher whose indomitable industry wrung time for them out of a life always over-full.

From what Dr. Moulton wrote we turn to what he thought on some of the subjects on which the readers of this book will probably value his opinion. It is not an easy thing to define these opinions of his where no written words survive to indicate them; and readers are asked to remember throughout that where quotations are not available, it may not always be possible to detach his opinions from the writer's own. The task is made harder by the insensible way in which he moulded the views of those most in contact with him. We never expected to hear an *ipse dixit*—there were few subjects on which he thought himself qualified to pronounce one.

* P. 188, note.

When with the superb certainty which is the prerogative of youth we laid down emphatic judgments on men and things, his question was always whether we had studied the subject. Sometimes we flattered ourselves we had, and the query was somewhat disconcerting, though it was as far as possible from wearing the guise of an extinguisher. He would generally, like another Socrates, declare that he had not studied the subject sufficiently to dogmatise upon it, though a short conversation would reveal that if his study had been scanty according to his ideas, it was twice as much as would have sufficed to make most men very positive indeed. If, therefore, we insensibly drifted into his views, it was not because we bowed to his authority. His authority convinced far less than his reasoning: if we accepted his principles, it was because the results which flowed from them were so convincing. His convictions on central truths were solid as the rock, so solid that he did not seem to fight for them, as if he had some fear of their being overthrown: rather he seemed to assume them, and to be concerned only with demonstrating to others how reasonable they were.

It will be natural to begin with his views on subjects Biblical and theological. What did he think of the Bible itself? Up to a certain point his opinions on problems raised by criticism are clear enough, and might almost be deduced without information from a good knowledge of his mind and character. A combination of intense reverence with fearless faith determined his attitude towards modern work on the Bible. He was most anxious to defer as long as possible all open strife within the Church upon these questions. "Give them time" was here again his motto. Time would make clearer how much of the new views is permanent, and how far and in what direction the beliefs of the Church are affected by them. To adopt the words of a letter to the

press which was submitted to him (in 1892) before publication, and very warmly endorsed:

"Criticism is only just coming into the position which Evolution has long occupied in the minds of Christian thinkers. First conceived to be fatal to any doctrine of the supernatural, it is now almost a truism that Evolution, *properly understood*, leaves Revelation just where it was, or, rather, arms it with new weapons. Even so, Criticism is now being taken out of the hands of those who deny the supernatural, and reverent Christian scholars are showing that its best established results are perfectly consonant with a firm and enlightened belief in inspiration."

In expressing his approval of this letter, Dr. Moulton wrote:

"I sent your letter on without change. Except, indeed, that I emphasised '*properly understood*' in your sentence on Evolution. On this subject I think you judge the world by yourself. I do not think you suspect how many are attracted to full-blown evolution by their fancy that evolution eliminates a Creator."

It was in fact *reverence* that he required, both in science and in criticism, and when that was ensured he had no fear. He was intensely anxious that the problems of the Old Testament should be earnestly and systematically handled by evangelical scholars. Writing to Professor Findlay on questions affecting the Wesleyan Theological Colleges, shortly before his Presidential year, he says:

"I want condensation, if possible, that we may do our duty to the advancing currents of study and thought. How shall we provide more and more for the combination of research and thorough teaching? Would it not be of priceless value to have (through the plan of fewer and larger Colleges and *enlarged staff*) one or two men of the calibre of

our tutors set apart for Old Testament study just now? Are we to wait for the Church of England, whose professors may or may not have true evangelical belief and experience joined with their scholarship, whose influence on half England may be destroyed by their devotion to a sacerdotal system?"

His personal position is well summed up in a letter to Dr. Milligan, dated March 20, 1892:

"I have had many an anxious thought, since I saw you, on the Old Testament critical theories. I am not anxious for myself; though often puzzled, I can wait in absolute confidence for more light and clearer vision. But I fear many will, to their own great loss, feel the unsettling influences of the period of suspense. How is it with your world of theological students?"

From these indications it will be easily understood that Dr. Moulton gave a cordial general welcome to the work of such scholars as Dr. Driver and his own friend Dr. H. E. Ryle. One of our cherished memories of summer holidays is that of Sunday evenings in Devonshire, where no chapel service could be reached, when he read us some of Driver's "Sermons," published as a companion to the same writer's masterly "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament." It is hard to say how far he accepted critical results in detail. Some attempt to gather up *obiter dicta* will be made below; but in general it is safe to assume that he declined to express opinions as not having given the subject sufficient study to satisfy his exacting standard. Some kinds of criticism he disliked strongly—the arbitrary subjective criticism which argues from personal intuitions as from ascertained facts, or the arrogant *a priori* method which starts from the denial of the miraculous, and then seeks

specious reasons for the support of a predetermined judgment. He had a horror of the *petitio principii*, especially when advanced in favour of what he himself believed. His test of a new theory was not "To what does it lead?" but "Is it proved to be true?" Hence blunders in matters of fact, by partisan champions of orthodoxy, disturbed him far more than any number of revolutionary hypotheses. A vehement controversialist strove to support the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy with an argument based on a notorious blunder of the Authorised Version, and another in a similar cause wrested Greek after a manner common a century ago, but now happily obsolete. He was acutely distressed; the Truth was being wounded in the house of her friends, where she could receive injuries severer than any her foes could inflict. He had not a particle of the controversialist in him. He was penetrated with St. John's great teaching that the one duty of Truth's lovers is to *witness*, to tell what they have seen and heard; and to such a man the one thing to be feared is not defeat in argument, but the peril of being betrayed by carelessness or partisanship into false witness, even in a matter where others might think the error trifling.

The materials are too scanty for anything like an adequate survey of Dr. Moulton's views on Old Testament difficulties, but there is one instructive passage in a letter (December 1895) to Professor Findlay, when returning proofs of the Preface to his friend's "Books of the Prophets."

"The only thought I miss here . . . is one which it is not easy to express, but which is important. I refer to the difference between Eastern and Western notions of 'authorship.' Surely comparative evidence shows us that expanding and explaining additions were not considered by Jewish

editors as contravening faithfulness. If so, then the inclusion of such additions with the original work is not always to be looked on as a testimony from the editor that the work he presents is vouched for by him as one and untouched. Even then, as you say, an editor is 'not infallible' in his judgment. But if the principle [holds] of *a different view of* '*authorship*,' then what lies before us in the Hebrew texts is not necessarily an editorial testimony (to unity) at all."

Apart from this quotation, there is hardly anything else on the subject which can be given in his own words;* and in a matter where so much depends on the wording of an opinion, it is more than usually unfair to rely on recollections. He would insist on the fragmentary character of the early narratives, which left room for supplements we cannot attempt to restore. He freely allowed for errors in transmission, especially of numbers. And in many places he would transfer a question to the interpreter's department, showing, for instance, that the problem of Jonah is not whether the events actually took place or not, but whether the author originally meant his book to be history or allegory. In the case of Jonah, though the conversation of which the drift is given took place some eight years ago, it may be stated that he did not at any rate reject the allegorical view, and that he mentioned the history of the interpretation of Hosea (i.–iii.) as to some extent parallel.

Dr. Moulton's qualifications as a peace-maker in this case,

* The following *obiter dicta* on points of this kind may be of interest. Writing to Dr. Milligan, he observes (on John xiii. 18): "I think the Davidic authorship of the Psalm [xli.] probable enough to be referred to, is it not?" Similarly in his Commentary on Hebrews he speaks of David in connection with the eighth Psalm, and notes that "many of the arguments urged against the possible reference [of Ps. xlv.] to Solomon have no great weight"; while he seems to lean to a post-exilic date for Pss. xxii. and cxviii., and a time at any rate later than David for Ps. xcv.

as in so many controversies, may be well seen from the notes of an address delivered in 1892, before Canon Fremantle's "Christian Conference." The rarity of impartial views makes apology unnecessary if quotation is made where the notes are full enough to permit it. He prefaces his "Thoughts on Present Discontents" by speaking of the entire change in the situation which had been brought in by the appearance of a new spirit in Biblical criticism :

"As long as the Higher Criticism seemed to be in the hands of extremists, there was little alarm. A criticism which assumed as a postulate that all narratives of Scripture which involved the miraculous were *ipso facto* stamped as unhistorical, could be set aside at once, was set aside with ease, by those who refused to make the assumption. But the case is widely different when the Higher Criticism comes in so as to sever men who have held and still hold in common the great doctrines of the Christian religion. Those who accept the newer teaching claim to have changed in no essential point: their co-religionists declare that the change annuls the earlier belief in doctrines admitted on both sides to be of vital moment. Meanwhile, others who do not carefully discriminate receive the impression that among Christians there is hopeless difference of view, that nothing is sure, that truth is unattainable; and thus they drift away from the Church and are lost to our sight.

"The controversy is raging fiercely. The combatants are sincere and conscientious men. Each side believes that great principles are at stake. Each is led to hurl epithets at his opponents, to impugn motives, to suspect the existence of principles not expressed; and, though each may set out with an acknowledgment of the Christian honour of his antagonist, the end of the discussion finds a state of feeling

widely diverse. This ought not so to be. Where is each wrong?" he asks, "and how may we be kept from perpetuating the blunders already made?

"*Not* by belittling the controversy itself. We shall gain nothing but shall lose infinitely by being insincere to ourselves. The points at issue are of great moment, and neither party can give way without clear conviction. It was said of one great man, that when a difficulty was found in a doctrine, his tendency was to say, 'Cannot we do without it?' I dispute the justice in that particular case; but there is such a type of man. The arrogant dogmatist is unpleasant; the molluscous divine still more so. We cannot believe alike in all points of Christian doctrine, and the recollection of differences may well tone down the positiveness of our language. But each one must be faithful to his own convictions of truth: earnest in search, candid and open-minded, he must be firm when he has surveyed the ground and taken his position—firm until convinced of error."

He proceeds to formulate his characteristic eirenicon:

"I do not plead for an india-rubber creed. But I do plead that each side is bound to a frank recognition of, following a heart's belief in, the Christian sincerity and devout earnestness of the opposite side in the controversy. Surely even in politics considerations of character may make our judgments less severe. I may be unable to see how the Plan of Campaign can for a moment be defended, or how any one can extenuate the iniquity of a policy of coercion; but if I remember that my friend, whose tried character and firm Christian principles make him a safe and trusted counsellor in all points of ordinary life, takes a view diametrically opposed to mine, may I not—am I not bound to—believe that there

cannot be such manifest and flagrant iniquity in either measure as I might have been led to suppose, had I had no evidence of this contrary belief? I am not a whit relieved from the duty of trying to persuade my friend out of his error, nor is he at liberty to leave me in my delusion. But we are both relieved from the duty and possibility of declaring the policy we respectively dislike to be bound up with all kinds of terrible implications and to have solidarity with every evil.

"Such recognition of Christian earnestness and fidelity goes very far towards solving the problem that is before us to-day. Each party has forgotten that the opposing hosts stand face to face on the level plain. Each has rebuked the other from a lofty height. Christian humility has been forgotten in the heat of warfare, and charity has fled wounded out of the field."

There follow impartial rebukes addressed to the extremists on both sides:

"The advocates of the newer views have, in the nature of things, begun the battle. They have been conscious of right motives and of fidelity to truth. They have reached conclusions which differ widely from views in which they had themselves been trained. In many cases the old opinions as to authorship, date, integrity of books, as to characteristics and developments of national institutions, as to order of events and the internal spirit of history, have not been resigned without a struggle. But in the bracing air of a higher position they grow strong, ignore the past, forget their own surprise and struggle, and, animated by the spirit of the age, trusting the methods and the genius of the nineteenth century, they bear upon their former companions with an eagerness which verges on intolerance for any belief except

their own. I have known one at least, who, having advanced to a third stage, seemed to have little mercy or consideration for those who held the opinions which he himself had held but a few months before, when in the second stage of his progress. This intolerance is very natural, but it is not the less harmful. Nor is this the only point in which the champions of the newer views have injured their cause.

"They have ascribed opposition met with to ignorance and prejudice. They have ignored deep and solid learning, and, still more, the tender and strong and reverent love of the doctrines which seemed to be impugned. It is not given to every one to move quickly. When a cherished belief in what all upon the field agree to hold as fundamental truth has for centuries seemed to carry with it certain consequent beliefs, an attack on the latter seems to be an attack on the former also. In the conflict the defenders of the complex creed do not see that it is not indivisible. The vigour of the attack prevents calmness of examination. The fear expressed is real, the reverence real. And if the truth is with the new, the defenders of the old will see that they have wrongly joined together divine truth and human inference."

Noscitur a sociis is another principle explaining the alarm produced by criticism:

"The assailants have often lost sight of the fact that the views they advocate have been maintained by men who have followed principles which they themselves in all sincerity disclaim. A man who believes definite prediction impossible must separate the two portions of Isaiah. Is it unnatural for many to believe that those who divide Isaiah have been more or less influenced by those who are repelled by a predictive element? The suspicion may be unjust; but is it unnatural? Those who would teach must be patient; this

is a case in which the adage is true, that much will come to the man who can wait. Respect for opponents, recognition of their difficulties, trustful patience, would have warded off many, most of the difficulties of which progressives complain."

He then turns upon the conservatives:

"No less faulty have been the defenders of established views. They have refused (practically) to believe in the Christian fidelity of their foes. 'Infidel' and 'rationalist' have been epithets ready to their hand, to hurl at those whose conclusions were different from their own. Because they could not see how newer theories could be harmonised with a hearty belief in the inspiration of Scripture, they accuse their opponents of giving up the inspired book. They have practically forgotten that others equally with themselves have maintained devoted and reverent loyalty to the Lord Christ. They have ignored the love of truth which has compelled their brethren to change their position. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin in the Christian's conduct; whatsoever is not of faith is dead in the Christian's store of doctrine. At all risks and hazards Christians must be faithful to the truth, as it has shown itself to them. This is no argument for rashness and readiness to innovate. But I have no right to charge my Christian brother with a desire to unsettle the faith of others when he promulgates new views of truth.

"These are the conclusions we draw as we watch the battle. These conclusions must be our rule and guide when we join one or the other side."

At this point the *verbatim* notes unfortunately come to an end, and there is only a skeleton of the rest of the address. The speaker urged that between such combatants the points at issue were important but not vital, and that each side

would influence the other, and probably find truth lying between them:

"The old will not extinguish the new; the new will not escape modification through the influence of the old. So much it is safe to predict, no more. I may have views as to *degree*, but we are now impartially surveying both sides."

He goes on to show how great has been the gain from the labours of criticism, which has sought to frame each divine word in history, to catch the full adaptation and interpretation of God's message to the time, to trace the progress of the divine life in the world, and to promote keen analysis and close study of the Word. Let combatants from both sides find common ground in the reverent study of the comparatively quiet places of Scripture, and so nurture their faith. Such are the Old Testament Prophets, whom criticism has brought out into bold relief—St. Paul, who has never been so clearly seen as now—and St. John, with his message than which nothing is more satisfying. So can devout students realise more than ever the living power of Scripture, and a time of peril be turned into a time of great gain.

Passing on to his own views on the general theory of Scripture, it is almost superfluous to say that he did not hold the doctrine of mechanical or verbal inspiration. Nor did he ever declare in favour of inerrancy. But it would have been hard to get him to acknowledge an error in a New Testament writer as *proved*. His unwillingness does not seem to have arisen from an *a priori* conviction that errors could not be; rather, minute study had convinced him that the documents were trustworthy, and if trifling discrepancies were pointed out he would simply reply that completer knowledge of the details might very well remove the contradiction. In the

Gospels he held the view that the Lord frequently repeated identical teaching under different conditions, or repeated it with designed alterations. His letters to Dr. Milligan during the preparation of their work on St. John betray more than once his anxiety not to let the general reader doubt the perfect accuracy of the Apostle's report of his Master's words. Thus, remarking on a draft of Dr. Milligan's which he was returning, he writes:

"The sentence, '. . . not detailed precisely as he [St. John] knew that they occurred,' is very ambiguous. I think you mean only that the record is *incomplete, selective;* but readers will understand you to mean *altered.* It is not enough for me to think that the evangelist has caught the 'dominating idea,' and has moulded the words accordingly: I believe that (α) the *resultant impression* of the recorded discourse is exactly that of the spoken words; (β) the recorded words are all *actual* words. . . .

"Have we not a persistent—which will seem a studious—*omission* of the thought of inspiration? I know we are compelled to argue on lower ground, but we occupy higher in our own convictions. All our annotations are pervaded by the assumption of a spiritual influence enabling the evangelist thus perfectly to record the words and deeds of his Master, and to present (as in the Prologue) the very truth. I press for no more than a word or two, or a phrase or two, that will show that we ourselves keep this truth always before us, though in defensive warfare we must go to other ground."

Closely akin to this is his treatment of the symbolism in St. John. As any reader of Dr. Milligan's works on the Apocalypse knows well, that great scholar was a constant upholder of the symbolic method of interpretation. Here it

would seem Dr. Moulton did not always go with him, partly because he feared that the insistence upon symbolism might make the reader suspicious as to the literal historicity of the narrative. Thus, in a letter dated September 30, 1876:

"I have thought much on the *hour* question, and have decided, for my part, that St. John does adopt a different time-reckoning. You will not object? I accept the symbolism, but as *added* to the historical statement."

On another occasion, arguing against what seemed an undue pressure of the allegorical method in chapter xxi., he writes:

"You expect the whole thickness of your spear to make its way at once into the body you aim at. In other words, I hope you will see it desirable to put the symbolical treatment into *one* note, at the end of the narrative. I see that you won't let even me know what you make of the 153! I cannot see that you conquer the difficulty of the 'fire of coals.' I really want to have the symbolism of the Gospel much more fully received. I have no right to set up my convictions of prudence as infallible, and do not wish to do so, but I am morally certain that a much more guileful procedure is needed to accomplish our end!"

Apparently this Pauline policy of taking the readers by guile was adopted. They were not, however, asked to see in 153 a multiplication of mystic numbers. It may be added here that in the exposition of Scripture neither Dr. Moulton nor the fellow workers with whom he had most in common were ever hampered by their theological or ecclesiastical views. Those views were in each case conscientious deductions from Scripture; but, however strongly they held them, they seem to have instinctively shrunk from allowing their

inferences to colour their translation or direct interpretation of the sacred text. Dr. Milligan was a Calvinist, besides being as much of a "High Churchman" as a Presbyterian well could be; but the difference in their standpoint did not trouble the workers on St. John. Writing on St. John xii., Dr. Moulton says to his colleague:

"I am perhaps a little more sensitive as to verses 32, 33, because some more hasty than thoughtful reviewer is sure to discover some peculiarity owing to our 'differing theological systems'! Now we have never in the slightest degree differed in any point of theology affecting our exegesis, and we don't here. I only want the note to express unmistakably the view we jointly hold."

To him, as to many of his colleagues on the Revision Company, few memories of the meetings in the Jerusalem Chamber were more precious than those which recalled the absolute sinking of dogmatic and ecclesiastical differences in the common inquiry into the meaning of the Divine Word.

This short sketch of his opinions on Biblical questions may be fitly closed with an extract from one of the last letters to Dr. Milligan, dated March 20, 1892, and written—as the mere fact of its being dated is almost enough to show—in a leisurely style very different from his usual hurried and business-like compression:

"Dear Dr. Milligan,—Having written your name, I linger, pen in hand, doubtful what to say next, a confession that might seem not very complimentary to you! But as I venture to think that—with a different application—Keble's line of 'Hearts' that 'are of each other *sure*' may be claimed by you and me, I shall not explain away my words. If you were one of those painful individuals who *keep* letters

received, and compare them, I fear there would be found a distressing sameness in the early sentences of my letters. And naturally. My love of writing to you never diminishes, my whirl of engrossing occupations continually grows giddier: what, then, can the result be but what it is? Only this time there is more to confess. In your goodness you sent me a book, the thought of which as it was growing into shape was often in my mind. I did not thank you at once, and therefore waited till I could say I had finished the reading of what you had written. But I haven't! Now then you will understand from what depths I write this evening. I doubt whether I have ever lived so much with you in thought as lately. Your new book fascinates me—but more of this when I have been able to read the whole. The subjects in the air are such as I should have been thankful indeed to talk over with you, in walks such as I delight to recollect in past times and to look forward to in some quieter period of the future. You wrote about Schürer's article on St. John.* At first that seemed formidable, but the adversary when faced seemed to me to lose all serious power for mischief. The article strove to be fair, but was not, as I think; its strongest points owed their strength to a (no doubt unconscious) exaggeration of difference and minimising of agreement. The chief unfairness was shown, as I think, in the 'Messiahship' portion of his argument. But the article † may seem 'ancient history' now. Sanday's last article, with its appendix from Hort, disturbs me much more, though I have not had time to think of it very carefully. I should like very much to know what you think of the Johannine articles generally of the past eight months. You speak of *our divergence* in Johannine criticism. Surely that is very limited? Does it go beyond this: You believe

* In the *Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1891. † Oct. 1891.

that the Gospel exhibits largely the 'subjectivity' of the Apostle John; and I *add to this* that the Apostle John's whole nature—he being what he was—could hardly fail to be moulded by Him whom he of all the apostles best understood, to whom he of all the apostles came nearest. It seems to me that a high, deep, receptive nature could not live in close contact with One whose unique greatness was appreciated and felt without such a result. There must be four conditions: appreciation, closeness of contact, receptivity, depth, with a certain (natural, but quickened) sympathy and likeness. In which of the apostles were these in the same degree, and which of these elements was wanting in St. John? This is the impression made on me; and hence, whilst adding to your view, I practically subtract largely, and see in the Gospel—or think I see—as near an approach to a portraiture by intrinsic light as I can conceive possible. I find the impression confirmed by the results won through as exact a following of words and phrases as I am capable of. Nothing leaves on me so powerful an impression of perfection as does the language of this Gospel. Just as you may intensify microscopic power and only discover more wonders in natural objects, so one learns more and more fully to place confidence in all minutiæ, humbly following each slight variation, every new turn of expression, sure that the general result will be to find harmony more and more visibly complete. This conclusion has been forced on me—by the process itself. In proportion as I have patiently and humbly followed the letter, the spirit has seemed to reveal itself more and more clearly. I am not doubting that much that I have said applies to other Scripture, and that this is one part of its self-evidencing power to man. But here, surely, we have the highest degree. Tell me if you think I am wild and extravagant in this. At all events, I believe your practice is on

my side, whatever your theory may be. But I must not weary you. . . . .* It is terrible to think that Mrs. Moulton and I have to leave in about three weeks for America. How the intervening work is to be done I know not, and cannot imagine. We hope to touch English ground again on May 23. Is there any chance of our meeting in the summer? I doubt whether we shall get to Scotland, painful as it is to me to say this. With warmest messages of affection to you all.

"Yours as ever,

"Wm. F. Moulton."

By a natural transition we turn to Dr. Moulton's ecclesiastical position. The warmth of his friendships outside his own Church, and the eagerness with which he threw himself into everything which brought Christians together, might suggest that he was a latitudinarian in ecclesiastical questions, disposed to spread out thin over other Churches the affection most men keep for their own. Nothing could be further from the truth. He never forgot for an instant that he was a Methodist preacher, and the son, grandson and great-great-grandson of Methodist preachers. His loyalty to the Church of his birth and his convictions was touching in its intensity. The doctrines, the polity, the hagiography of Wesleyan Methodism were shrined alike in his heart and in his head. He trusted the disposal of his own services implicitly to his brethren as to the voice of Providence for him, and never allowed his own wishes to interfere in the least with their decisions in his case. His influence in the Conference and in committees was naturally very great, and was always a moderating force, which by its quiet reasonableness and absolute absence of partisanship told powerfully when keen and eloquent debaters failed to win votes. In ecclesiastical

* Here come words cited above, p. 220.

politics, as in everything else, he was a strong Progressive, but of so solid and cautious a kind that the stiffest Conservatives trusted and sometimes even followed him.

Dr. Moulton's differences from his friends in the Established Church come out strongly in his views on the Christian Ministry. It was to him no order, with sacramental functions and dignity, presiding by divine right over the Church of Christ. Rather was it an office, of immense importance, transcending other offices mainly because the Christian minister gives the whole instead of a part of his time to the work of the Church. The view is expressed in a letter to Professor Findlay, which accompanied proofs of the latter's Commentary on Ephesians. On ch. iv. 11 he observes:

"I fully agree with your exposition of and inferences from μέχρι.* But with one practical difference. I think you overlook one most important difference between layman and true cleric—that resulting from the complete devotion of time, &c., possible and demanded in the case of the minister. This does not touch the point you make (after St. Paul), that the distinction is economic and temporary. But the practical point is most important. How miserable a failure then is a worldly-minded, business-absorbed minister!"

His year of office as President of the Conference gave him occasions for emphasising his lofty view of the responsibility of the Christian minister. At the beginning, during the session of the Bristol Conference of 1890, it was his duty to hold what is known as the President's "private examination" of the candidates for ordination, who had been in the work as probationers for four years, and were to be ordained on the last day of July. He took us entirely by ourselves, and none are likely to forget the solemnity, the sympathy and

* See Findlay's Ephesians (in "Expositor's Bible"), p. 245.

the helpfulness of his words as he showed us how the familiar precepts of John Wesley's "Twelve Rules of a Helper" adapted themselves to the varied needs of the nineteenth century. At the end of the year, at the Nottingham Conference of 1891, he gave the usual ex-President's Ordination Charge,* portions of which are quoted elsewhere, showing how he brought out and based on Scripture the general Free Church, and especially the Wesleyan, view of the Church and the Ministry. The Charge was a close exposition of 2 Corinthians iv. 1–6, and was thoroughly characteristic of his method in preaching: the text was not a mere peg on which to hang the preacher's own opinions, but a carefully selected section to which the student brought his microscope, to find in it the instruction needed for the occasion. But it was not only instruction of which he was thinking. Behind the teacher's enthusiasm lay the true Methodist preacher's thirst for souls, which comes out intensely in words near the close, worthy of being quoted to sum up a chapter dealing mostly with the activities of the study.

"Your ministry leads you, brethren, into the midst of these men, redeemed by your Saviour, but going to destruction. The final word of doom is not yet spoken. Our Gospel may be seen by the darkening eye. But there is no time to waste. The moments are precious. For the love of Christ rescue the perishing! In the sight of God seek those who are lost, all but finally lost. And if you cannot—if in the case of some your Gospel prove to have been altogether veiled, oh may your mourning be mingled at least with one assuaging thought, that your unfaithfulness did not cause their ruin, that you have commended yourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God!"

* "We Preach not Ourselves," London, C. H. Kelly, 1891.

There are other fields of knowledge and of life in which Dr. Moulton's mind could be described with more or less fulness from the recollections of those who knew him best. But perhaps it is well to stop here. The words just quoted take us into the centre of all his thoughts. It was not given to him to plead with the masses in the crowded mission hall, or in the streets and lanes of the city, like many of his younger brethren whose privileges he would have envied, had envy come near such a spirit. None the less was he always a soul-winner, and every ambition was centred on this. "He that is wise winneth souls," wins them for his Master through winning them to himself. And few there were who came in contact with him without his making an absolute conquest of them. So it was that in teaching all manner of "secular" subjects, in supervising the work and play of his school, in counselling the industrious and disciplining the unruly, he "won" the souls which were unconsciously prepared to yield not to the words but to the man when he pleaded with them to accept the Lord who was all in all to him.

CHAPTER VI

PRESIDENT OF THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE

The President of the Wesleyan Conference occupies a post which is in many respects unlike any other. It is an office for which there is no nomination, unless it be the bare fact of a minister's having received a substantial vote in the previous year, neither is there any canvassing, beyond the free discussion in conversation concerning the relative fitness of leading ministers, nor, it may be added, any pecuniary remuneration. Any member of the Legal Hundred—of which in theory the Conference consists—is eligible for election if he is present at the opening session, and all are present unless detained by sickness or some other imperative necessity. When he is elected, the position of the Wesleyan President differs considerably from that of the Chairman of the Congregational Union or of the Baptist Union, a difference arising from the fact that the Conference is legislative and administrative and not merely deliberative. During his year of office, from the close of the Conference to the election of his successor at the next, he is the supreme executive authority and not only exercises the influence which is his by virtue of his personal worth, but also wields the concentrated authority of the Church, although it is open to him to summon the ex-Presidents as a consultative body in cases

where he is unwilling to take upon himself the sole responsibility for action.

It is not claiming too much to say that Dr. Moulton might have been President earlier had he been free to take the office. At a remarkably early age he had been elected into the Legal Hundred in 1872, and several years before 1890 he had received so large a vote for the Presidency that the Governors of the School, fearing the effect of his election upon The Leys, requested ministers in the interests of the School not to vote for him for some years. As it was, in consequence of the School term continuing for some ten days after the opening of the Conference, he was very rarely in his place at the opening session. But if any one had urged him to attend at the beginning so that he might be eligible for election, he would with difficulty have been brought to believe that his brethren wished to place him in the chair. When he did attend the opening session at Bristol in 1890, he was elected by a large and enthusiastic vote.

How deeply he realised the responsibility of the post to which his brethren had called him is shown by the words of intense feeling with which he acknowledged the vote:

"I cannot forget words which were spoken by one whose name is always deeply revered by me, and who nearly thirty years ago was elected President of this Conference. He said that it was not the thought of presiding over the Councils of the Church or of guiding debates that overwhelmed him with responsibility. All that he felt he could accomplish, but it was the thought of being, for the time, at the head of a great religious community, the thought that by some action or omission on his part he might unfavourably influence religious work, or lower the tone of religious experience and effort. I

cannot join with Dr. Waddy in all these words. He was a born leader of men and might fearlessly attempt work in the presence of which I should feel but a little child. But I have never been able to forget those last words. . . . It is very possible for the President to leave things undone, and I ask your prayers that throughout this year, all through the duties of the year, which have come upon me unsought—forgive my saying so; I mean only unsought in the sense that I feel not only that no Methodist preacher would ever seek a position like this, but that I know my own qualifications too well to wish to take up the great trouble and terrible responsibility which your vote this morning has imposed upon me—I beg that your prayers will be granted me in order that I may be faithful to my duty. . . . The world is watching us, brethren, and the world is right in watching us. Assemblies of Christian ministers should always be scrutinised. The world will speak of our theories, and will wonder how far our practice and results will agree with them. The world will call them our theories. We take them as our faith. We take the Word of God as intended to be the rule of man's life. What position do we stand in this morning? Well, may the world look upon us—each one of us, I trust, a man in Christ; each one of us having claimed in prayer the fulfilment of the promise of the Lord Jesus Christ; each one accustomed to believe from day to day, and to act upon this belief, that the Great Head of the Church has respect not to the Church as a whole only, but to each individual man. I am putting aside all thought of office in the Church. We are all here present before God. Man looks upon us, but there is a greater than man who looks upon us to see whether our result and practice answer to the faith which we have professed. Oh! brethren, forgive me: I did not intend to do any more than to take up

the thoughts which I know are present in the minds of many, but I have been overwhelmed with the thought, What limit is there to that which we may hope if each one of us thus stands related to the Living God, to the Saviour of Mankind. What should our debates, our resolutions be? May God grant that not one here may be a hindrance to the Spirit in His great work! May our highest ambition be to be 'vessels, instruments of grace!' May God help us!"

The Bristol Conference was awaited with a considerable degree of anxiety, for it was known that in the course of it there would be reached the last stage of a controversy which had been agitating the Connexion for many months. This controversy is so recent that it is not in any degree desirable to dwell upon it, neither indeed is it necessary from our present standpoint, for in the controversy Dr. Moulton took no active part whatever, and the only point at which he touched it was that he was in the chair during its final and perhaps most critical stage. Only this need be said, that the fact of the chair being occupied by one who could not possibly be regarded as a partisan of one side or the other, and who was the trusted friend of the leaders on both sides, gave a sense of confidence, and made for peace, since more than once he was enabled to turn the debate away from personal matters to questions of principle.

Three incidents of this Conference may be just mentioned here on account of their personal interest to Dr. Moulton. Among the ministers ordained at that Conference was Dr. Moulton's eldest son. The Lecturer upon the Fernley Trust, whose lecture is given during the Conference, but whose appointment is made about two years previously, happened that year to be the Rev. Richard Green, Dr. Moulton's cousin, and the subject — "The Mission of

Methodism"—had been suggested by him. Before the Conference rose, Dr. Moulton had the pleasure of introducing his brother, the Rev. James Egan Moulton, of Sydney, New South Wales, who had himself been President of the New South Wales Conference, and who arrived in England the day before the session closed.

Dr. Moulton's official sermon before the Conference was so characteristic of his style of preaching that a portion of it may find a fitting place here, especially as this volume contains no sermon of his in full. Like so many of his sermons, the text was taken from St. John's Gospel—the Gospel over which he had pondered with more than usual loving care—chap. xvi. ver. 23, 24. After expounding the relation of these words to what had gone before, he said :

"All these questions show to us how ignorant were the disciples in regard to the nature, the person, the work of their Master. We speak freely of the ignorance of these venerated men—men whom, in all ages, Christians have delighted to honour. Granted that they were 'slow of heart' to receive the Saviour's teaching; granted that there were many imperfections and defects; yet in their case this ignorance was inevitable. The Saviour only at this time, one might almost say, had begun to reveal to them the full mystery of His will and purpose. The events which were to follow speedily would bear their own witness. The Saviour speaks of a time when all this ignorance shall have passed away. *In that day ye shall ask me no questions.* The day of which He speaks is the dispensation of the Holy Spirit. From the Day of Pentecost the disciples understood and knew, as they could never understand before, their oneness with their Lord and His oneness with the Eternal Father. And that day, once begun, has not ended. It is

our privilege to live in the brightness of that day. Of the glory of that day we were singing in the hymn with which this service commenced [Hymn 197]. No shadow of darkness comes over the brightness of that day. It will fade away in the glory of eternity: at its eventide will be its brightest light. The glory, the especial glory of that day is that ignorance shall have given place to knowledge. *In that day ye shall ask me no questions.*

"But some will say, can this be true? Is there no ignorance now? Do we not feel the *mystery* of the kingdom of heaven—using the word in the sense most familiar to us now? Do we not feel the mysteriousness of the things of God as it was never felt in the world before? Is it not felt by many that darkness rather than light prevails, even in respect of the Saviour's purpose and work? Can we understand the fulness of His redemption? Can we explain its meaning? Are not men searching in vain into the depths of its philosophy? Most true, brethren. The bright light of science has seemed to deepen the darkness brooding over many of God's revealed truths. Men are growing impatient. On the one side they seem to have a full, bright light, and they understand—as they persuade themselves, at all events. They understand the subjects of their investigations fully, through and through, and turn to truths which they cannot themselves verify, and they are prone to say: It is the shadow of darkness that has come over the world, not the dawn of a new day—the revelation of how little man knows, and how limited are his faculties. All this has truth in it; but it does not for a moment stand in conflict with the words of the text. What is our Lord speaking of? He is speaking of His work of saving men, of the way to the Father. He is speaking of the revelation of the Father. What Peter, and Thomas, and Philip, and Judas had been

ignorant of was how they could see the Father; how they could come into the very presence of God; how they could live without the visible manifested presence of their Master. And I boldly affirm—and, brethren, your hearts bear testimony to the words I speak—that it is the privilege of the simplest disciple of Christ—we are not speaking of those who are not disciples of Christ, of those who, either through perplexity, or through unhappy training, or through the temptation of the evil one, or from any cause whatever, stand outside the circle in which the light of Christ shines,—I say that for every humble disciple of Christ, who is prepared to rest upon His words, ignorance, and embarrassment, and perplexity, and doubt in regard to the great truths of man's salvation are among the former things that have passed away."

The strain and stress incident to the life of the President of the Wesleyan Conference can only be adequately appreciated by those who have been intimately associated with occupants of that office. The responsibility which rests upon him during the remainder of the year only differs in kind from that of Conference time; it is no less real: and when, as in the case of Dr. Moulton, it was added to the already existing and peculiarly exacting responsibilities of a great school, the weight seemed almost overwhelming. When we look back upon that year and review its tasks, the whole stands out as a miracle of endurance. A brief sojourn at Scarborough lost all the characteristics of a holiday by reason of several lengthy journeys, of the official correspondence belonging to the two positions which he held, and of the shadow of the impending public utterances which it would be his duty to deliver, but which were uncongenial to him. Usually one of the earliest duties of the President

after the Conference has risen—and certainly the most thankless duty of the year—is the allocation of about sixty young ministers on probation, known as the "President's List of Reserve." These are lent to Circuits which are in difficulties owing to the illness of a minister, or some such temporary embarrassment, and some of the men on the List of Reserve will have a nodding acquaintance with three or four Circuits before their year is out. The difficulty to the President lies in judging—at a time of great demand—between the various claimants, and Circuits do not usually take with a good grace the withdrawal of the "supply," neither are they disposed to admit that any Circuit can possibly have a better claim than they have. Hence the thanklessness of the President's task.

When once the summer is over, and the world returns home after its holiday, the President is, like the Apostle, "in journeyings oft." During his year of office Dr. Moulton travelled twenty-two thousand miles, which, after making deductions for several short illnesses, leaves an average of between five and six hundred per week. Some of the President's visits are fixed items year after year; the majority are services in connection with the openings of new chapels or the anniversaries of old ones, and he will, in all probability, during the first two months receive requests which more than cover all the days of the year. Among the fixed items of his programme may be mentioned the official visits to Scotland, placed, unfortunately, at the end of October, to Cornwall in February, and to the Irish Conference in June. Dr. Moulton's visit to Ireland was further complicated by the summoning, in hot haste, of the Education Committee to meet in London to consider a new phase in educational legislation that was imminent, and this necessitated his travelling through from Dublin to London one night and

back again the next night, all in the midst of a heavy programme of public engagements.

On one of his visits to the West he was caught in the extraordinary blizzard of March 1891. Writing about it to his eldest son and his wife—whom he was unable to see owing to an invasion of mumps, he says:

"The Leys.

"Carissimi Mumpsimi,—I am here at last you see, and I am very thankful to be none the worse for all the adventures. I should not *choose* again to be stationary for five hours and more between stations in a driving snowstorm, but it has done me no harm. When I did get to Taunton I was too late for all engagements; and—cabs being invisible—I trudged through the snow for three quarters of a mile, asking my way to the chapel step by step, to find the building dark and empty! But all's well that end's well! I have only to regret missing Cottenham."

Within a fortnight he was again in the same neighbourhood, and one of his letters to his son incidentally reveals another experience to which the President—like other public men—was liable:

"Dartmoor,
"*March* 30.

"Dearest James,—Do not too hastily conclude that ——* has worked his will, and that having met him at Torquay, I am now safely lodged in the convict prison, where, as he pathetically says, there are many with less right than I could claim. I am within six miles of the prison, but I am still hoping that the attractive influence may not be powerful enough to drag me within the walls. This region would be breezy enough for you; every lingering fragment of infection

* A lunatic who had deluged him and his predecessors with abusive and threatening letters.

would be blown, snowed, sleeted, rained and sunned away. All these varieties of weather we have had: to-day is very fine. The scenery is very 'broad' and wild. If it were two months later, and in point of *rest* about four months later, I could thoroughly enjoy the endless rambles attainable here. . . . I hope to have Saturday and Sunday at The Leys, but I shall hardly get back on Thursday night. Your mother will see you there, but I must stay in town. If Census, or Probationers, or Leys should require attention before Friday night, I could probably get back *late* on Thursday.

"With much love to all,

"YOUR LOVING FATHER."

"Late" when it was a matter of coming from London did not mean anything worse than arrival in Cambridge shortly after eleven, but when travelling from the North or East Anglia, it was his frequent custom to travel by the mail train arriving at one o'clock, in order that he might reduce to a minimum the naturally considerable periods of absence from the School. The reason for his staying in town on the journey referred to in the above letter is significant. While President he inaugurated a weekly missionary prayer meeting on Friday mornings, and he made a point of being present himself, in the hope that others might be led to take the same interest in it. Until his illness in 1895 he was comparatively rarely absent, often making the journey from Cambridge expressly on that account.

The centenary of the death of John Wesley falling as it did on March 2, 1891, it was natural that Dr. Moulton as President should be the central figure at the series of services at City Road, in which, throughout the week, the Wesleyan Church reviewed the past in the interests of the

future. The celebration was in every way worthy of the occasion, and Dr. Moulton was wont to regard it as one of the greatest privileges of his life that it had been his lot to take part in it and be present at every session. Among the preachers of the week were Dr. Dale, Principal Rainy, and Dr. Clifford: every phase of Methodist activity was dealt with by selected speakers, lay and ministerial; and at the unveiling of the Wesley statue a brilliant tribute was paid to John Wesley by Archdeacon—now Dean—Farrar. It was very far from being a Metropolitan festival. One who was there described it aptly as "a kind of Feast of Tabernacles. The tribes have come up to Zion in force. Country Methodism from far and near crowds the chapel yard every day. The talk is serious, as befits the occasion: but with all the solemnity there is a great gladness."

Dr. Moulton's own official sermon was given upon the afternoon of the Centenary Day itself. He selected as his text the thirteenth and fourteenth verses of the third chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians, and the sermon dealt with the identity of principle which actuated St. Paul and John Wesley.

"Underlying and including all he planned and all he accomplished, during half a century, is this one principle of St. Paul. Looked at from any other point of view than one, John Wesley's life was manifold, inconsistent, heterogeneous. This simple clue leads through what some have regarded as a labyrinth, this light shows harmony among actions apparently discordant. No other principle than St. Paul's own can make it possible for successors to continue his work; and hence the words we have been considering most fitly suit the day which ends a hundred years of Methodist toil in

the absence of its founder, and which begins a new era for our Church."

An interesting passage views Wesley's Churchmanship from this standpoint:

"All that he regarded as essential in the Church of England commanded his reverent love. The Church Prayers he found 'full of life.' Usages which, though not claiming vital importance, his Church had inherited from primitive times, were altogether to his taste, though, as his time and his thoughts became absorbed in practical labour, we hear little about most of them. Church seasons were times of especial enjoyment to this loyal son. All Saints' Day lifted his rapt soul into the joys of the Communion of Saints. To such a man thus bound by ancestral ties, attached to the Church in all the tastes and habits of his life, one with the Church in the strongest convictions of his mature thought, the very idea of desertion was intolerable; and with all his power, with words of the greatest vehemence, with reiterated appeal, he cried out against separation. He was in his own belief to the very last a true member of the Church of England. And yet with an inconsistency which he acknowledged, though he seems never to have deeply felt its force, he broke through the most binding laws of the Church he so much loved. . . . Though only a presbyter he had presumed to *ordain*. Most unwillingly after long hesitation did he come to this point, the crowning point of disunion. The work of God required that men should be set apart to help. Lay evangelists could accomplish very much, but they could not furnish to the souls whom God had given him all they needed. The Lord who had saved these souls in myriads, and had prescribed the needed ministries of grace, could not design that these ministries should be wanting.

John Wesley sought earnestly that the want might be supplied according to the established usage of the Church; but he sought in vain. Still he was fain to struggle on with the small band of clergymen who lent their aid. But wider claims pressed upon him, followers in distant lands had no such provision as his flock at home possessed, and—lest God's work should suffer—this loyal-hearted Churchman at last passed the Rubicon, assumed what hitherto he had held to be a bishop's right, and ordained pastors and superintendents of the Church. The action brought him obloquy, but there was no misgiving in his mind. He felt himself linked with primitive times, but in such actions he offered in sacrifice the instincts and habits of his life. To a man so constituted the wrench was terrible. All these actions of his were consistent in their inconsistency. 'This one thing I do.' To spread scriptural holiness throughout the land was the one object of his life; whatever conflicted with this must be thrust aside, whatever this entailed must be accepted as ordained by God."

One thing and one only marred Dr. Moulton's perfect satisfaction with the celebration, and that was the failure to induce any of the Bishops to take part in the meetings. Three letters from Dr. Hort to Dr. Westcott* show what had been hoped for in that direction.

"CAMBRIDGE, *October* 2, 1890.

"Perhaps I may now venture to fulfil a promise made at The Leys on Saturday, a wish having been hinted that there should be no needless delay.

"Next year the Wesleyans hope to celebrate the Centenary of John Wesley's death by a series of functions to be held in London. One of these will have associated with it representatives of

* "Life and Letters of F. J. A. Hort," vol. ii. 426 *sqq.*

the bodies which have split off from the original Connexion; another representatives of the other Nonconformist denominations. But they are specially anxious to have a gathering at which the Church of England alone will be represented, in addition to their own body; and they hope that Wesley's peculiar position may render this possible. The gathering will not be a religious service, but a meeting with speeches—of course opened with prayer. The place, however, will be City Road Chapel, and this was obviously felt to be a possible difficulty. There is a strong wish that the Church should, if possible, be represented by a Bishop; and incomparably the most acceptable Bishop would be yourself. Of course they wish to avoid refusals, and therefore private information in advance as to the answer that would be given is greatly desired.

"Evidently there is no risk that either answer would be misunderstood, so far as responsible persons are concerned. As you would anticipate, every word was full of careful and intelligent delicacy. Of course, I spoke in perfect neutrality."

"CAMBRIDGE, *Oct.* 7, 1890.

"I feel strongly with you that, to choose my own words, we must not recognise Separatism as a normal and permanent state of things, though we may refuse to judge Separatists or Separatist bodies, and may show such fellowship not only with individuals but with bodies as does not compromise our reserved prerogative. In practice it is not easy always to see what does or does not fulfil this condition. . . . The sentences in your answer at Hull which follow your reference to Moulton seem to me to say exactly what ought to be thought and said by Churchmen just now. Only I hope the Wesleyan authorities may be rightly interpreted as not dissenting from them. But I do not forget that you have had much better opportunities of judging."

"CAMBRIDGE, *Oct.* 10, 1890.

"The answer in itself could hardly be called a disappointment to Moulton, for he said he was prepared for various reasons which might lead to your refusal. But the true reason had never occurred to him; and he spoke of it as a bitter disappointment,

evidently meaning, as regards the future generally, not the Wesley Centenary. He had believed that you shared his view that a plurality of independent Christian communities in the same country is the ideal state of things, not merely a present necessity. For your own view I referred him to your answer at Hull, which expressly refused to surrender the hope that there might ultimately be not unity only but some external unity.

"The whole incident is depressing. I had hoped for better things from the middle-aged Wesleyans, and from their instrumentality reaching beyond their own communion. Yet forces are at work which forbid discouragement; and who can wonder if Dissenters shrink from being merged in a body which they fear is on the way to taking its doctrine of the Church from the Oxford Tracts? That natural fear is surely the deadliest hindrance to reunion."

The above letters speak for themselves, and nothing more need be said than to express agreement with Dr. Hort on one statement of his. The whole incident *is* depressing.*

* Lest the above letters should give to Nonconformist readers the impression that Dr. Hort was hard and unsympathetic towards their position, I quote a portion of a letter written to Dr. Hatch in 1886 ("Life and Letters," ii. 357). "I quite go with you in condemning the refusal of fellowship to sister Churches merely because they make no use of some element of organisation assumed to be *jure divino* essential. But it seems to me that the rejection of theoretical and practical exclusiveness clears the ground for the recognition of at least the possibility that other kinds of (relative) *jus divinum* may be brought to light by history and experience. In organisation, as in other things, all Churches have much I think to learn from each other, the Church of England as much as any. It does not follow that organisation ought to be everywhere identical. But it may well turn out that there are some elements or principles of organisation which cannot anywhere be cast aside without injury: and at all events each Church has need to ask how far its peculiarities may be mere gratuitous defects, not right adaptations to its own special circumstances."

CHAPTER VII

FIVE YEARS OF PUBLIC LIFE

The Presidential year, as has been already pointed out, made it perfectly impossible for Dr. Moulton to return to the old life. For good or evil, he was now a public man, and the tendency is invariably for a man who once gets into the stream of public life to get sucked more and more into the vortex. I say "for good or evil," because there was really much to be said upon both sides. What has already been said concerning the estimate which others formed of him, reveal him as one eminently fitted to be a leader, by virtue of the moderation and fairness of his judgment and the width of his sympathies and interests. And on the purely personal side there was an element of relief in being taken away at intervals from conditions of life under which it was a virtual impossibility for him to rely on hours of quiet thought, free from all interruptions; and his railway journeys did give him that. But, on the other hand, he felt that the interests of the School were in danger of suffering through his absences, that he could not superintend details and devote himself to serving the interests of each individual boy as he had striven to do in the past. Thus he always carried about with him the anxieties of the School, and difficulties loomed larger the further the train took him from the sphere of their solution. Hence the

mail-train journeys already referred to, and other similar devices for minimising his absence from the School. All this meant a sense of rush and of stress, and this it was—rather than actual work—that told upon him in the end. To this must be added, that he was always very sensitive to cold, and the part first affected was almost invariably his throat. Although his fine sonorous voice might suggest just the contrary, a leading London surgeon told him he had the smallest throat he had ever examined, and throughout his ministry this tended to give him trouble. At one time, for a period of nearly a year, while at Richmond, he had been unable to preach at all, and failure of voice, owing to cold, was responsible for a large proportion of the occasions upon which he was forced to break an engagement.

It was only natural that from this time he should be drawn more closely into the affairs of the Church. Though the overlapping of school term and Conference still prevented his giving to the latter his continuous attention, he was usually present at the opening session, even if that necesitated travelling back to Cambridge during the night; and during the Leeds Conference of 1897—the last which he attended—he twice travelled from Cambridge and back again during the first ten days. At Nottingham in 1891 it was necessary for him, as ex-President, to be present the whole time, and he took a very active part in public business. As already noted,* it fell to his lot to give the Ordination Charge to those who came up for ordination at this Conference, as also at the Irish Conference of the same year, and it was a duty which he was pre-eminently well fitted to perform, for it was ever his delight to expound the Scriptures, and enforce their bearing upon ministerial ideals of to-day. And after showing how "St. Paul, in defending his authority,

* P. 236.

was constrained to describe the ministry he had received," he "welcomed" those before him "to this same ministry."

"It is an Apostolic ministry, possessing the same rights, exercising the same functions, inheriting the same privileges, encompassed by the same responsibilities as that ministry (or service) of which Paul here speaks. The links which connect you with St. Paul are not external. We have no desire to trace an uninterrupted succession of ordaining hands. The imposition of hands is but a symbol of the choice of the Church and the prayers of the Church. The Church to which you belong has been as truly marked out by the Head of the Church as His own, as richly and unmistakably crowned with His blessing as any Church in the ages which have passed since Apostolic days. And after using all means appointed in God's holy Word for learning the will of God towards you, my brethren, after seeking in all ways to test the reality of your conviction that God has called you to His work, the Church has thus solemnly set you apart for this office and ministry, in the very act pleading with God that the grace of the Holy Spirit, the Fount of all gifts for the ministry, may be yours. Your Church follows St. Paul in all this teaching of his, as he followed Christ his Lord. In forming our estimate of qualifications for the ministry, we begin where he began. Your hearts would glow within you as you heard St. Paul go back to religious experience as first and foremost among the marks of a Christian minister. 'God hath shined in your hearts.' In you the creating Word has again said, 'Light shall shine out of darkness.' But with the experience came the call. You were enlightened, that through you the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ may shed light far and wide. Thank God for

this! Let your thankfulness abound. Rejoice that through you the heavenly light shall be diffused! But you cannot shine if your own light be allowed to grow dim. It is not the initial burst of light that will suffice for life-long illuminating power. May your light shine more and more unto the perfect day. To this end be watchful over yourselves, be prayerful, be holy."

To the attainment of this end the first and foremost aid must be the study of the Word of God.

"You will never fully know the harmony of all the parts of the doctrine and the exquisite beauty of the light which each several text of Scripture casts on every other in which Christ is set forth. The combinations are endless. After years of systematic study you may suddenly see the whole page illumined by an unexpected ray. Do not be afraid of noticing small changes of expression, minute variations of language, especially in the words of the Lord Jesus Himself. This blessed Word may be studied with a microscope as with a telescope. But in each case the eye must be rightly trained. Not every impression that is vivid is therefore lasting. You may find it necessary to change your interpretation. 'Day will teach day.' But the charm of deep and loving study of Scripture will be ever deepening. Difficulties will woo you on to more thorough search; and if you are walking in the light, and the Holy Spirit is your guide, you will possess for yourselves 'the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ.'"

Dr. Moulton's disbelief in the dogmatism which would lay down certain forms of organisation as necessary "not merely to the *bene esse* but to the very *esse* of a Church," finds powerful expression in his Charge:

"There are good men who would readily hide themselves from view, but who magnify their office. Their view of the Christian ministry is such that they think themselves bound in very duty and faithfulness to put themselves forward; for are they not the priests of God, mediators between God and His people? *We* know no such doctrine. We are saved from all such temptations, the subtlety of which transforms the very nature of men whom we should otherwise revere and love. You will teach that there is no priest for men but the One who is High Priest for ever, who, 'when He had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God.' And yet that every man is a priest unto God, each bearing his own responsibility, offering his own worship, aided by you, it may well be, in every function of his spiritual life, but never supplanted by you. You and your people will stand side by side in relation to the High Priest and in your own priestly duty. God keep us from the evil fascination of sacerdotal views! As with the Sacraments, so with the Christian ministry; what are called 'high' doctrines are low and lowering. High Christian teaching is in the realm of faith; once leave that region and you descend. Take from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper its exclusive connection with faith, talk about the 'Real Presence' in any sense beyond that of the vision vouchsafed to faith, and you lose the essence of the Sacrament, you materialise the spiritual gift. So is it with the office you have now received. It is very alluring to hear of high powers conferred by due ordination, of the possibility of offering help to feeble men by authoritative priestly acts; but we 'have not so learned Christ.' The highest atmosphere, brethren, is that of self-renunciation. We commend to you the more difficult task when we take up St. Paul's words and press them home in all their power: 'We proclaim not ourselves.' Do not

think me uncharitable in these references to others. To his own Master each man standeth or falleth. But our convictions of truth—convictions which you hold, we believe, as firmly as ourselves—exclude all such conceptions of the Christian ministry, and regard them as dangerous to the life of faith. . . .

"He is the Guide of His servants in the constitution and arrangements of the Christian Church. It is our constant belief that uniformity of external plan formed no part of the design of the Author of the Church. Here the silence of Scripture is eloquent. Had any one system been necessary, the New Testament would have been found to contain its outline and warrant. The essential principles are there, and no one can doubt their presence. But we firmly believe it is the duty of various communities of disciples—communities differing in some degree in their views of certain truths, and in their capacities for varied forms of Christian organisation and effort—to invest these principles with different external forms. The object of every Church arrangement is to carry out the expressed will of Christ our Lord. We seek to provide, in the best manner possible to us, for the ministry of the Word, the administration of the Sacraments, the fellowship of believers, the effective performance of all kinds of evangelistic work and works of mercy, the training of the young and of the ignorant, the faithful maintenance of Christian discipline. For every part of this work we are directly responsible to our Lord:

> 'Accept my hallowed labour now:
> I do it unto Thee.'"

In the spring of 1892 he paid a hurried visit to America. The Œcumenical Conference of the Methodist Churches of the world had been held in New York the pre-

vious autumn, and considerable disappointment had been expressed on the other side of the Atlantic that Dr. Moulton had been unable to go with the deputation from England. This made it the harder for him to decline when appointed to attend the Quadrennial General Conference of American Methodism to be held in Omaha in the spring of 1892. Only six weeks elapsed between his leaving Cambridge and his return, and of these, three weeks were in vacation time, which reduced his absence from the School to very small dimensions. But if the direct encroachment was slight, the indirect was considerable, for in New York he caught scarlet fever, which after his return to Cambridge involved isolation for several weeks. The visit was full of interest to him, and he would often refer to it afterwards with delight, but it is much to be regretted that his devotion to the School prevented his making a stay long enough to enable him to see the country and form an estimate as to the working and characteristics of American Methodism.

In the same year an alteration was made in one part of the practical administration of Methodism, in which Dr. Moulton took a keen interest. Hitherto Cambridge had been an outlying portion of the First London District, with the Norwich and Lynn District lying immediately to the north of it. At the Conference of 1892 it was decided to take Ipswich and Cambridge out of the First London, and add them to Norwich and Lynn, which was henceforth to be known as the East Anglia District. Dr. Moulton's position as an ex-President would have made it seem natural that he should be chairman of the newly formed District. But he refused to consider the proposal, knowing full well the splendid qualities of the Rev. John Gould, who was chairman of the old District, and has ever since been chairman

of the new. However, he was always ready to help his friend in the affairs of the District, and Mr. Gould invariably asked him to conduct the oral examinations of the candidates for the ministry at the May Synod, as also that of candidates for ordination. His examinations were keenly relished by the ministers, and (in after days) by the victims themselves, who were put through a searching test, scrupulously fair and kindly, eliciting knowledge as well as revealing ignorance. His examinees usually found that a frank confession of ignorance was better policy than the wrapping of it up in irrelevancies. One candidate for ordination showed, in his examination upon Wesley's works, an acquaintance with the classics of Methodism which was more general than particular. Dr. Moulton asked him in his most engaging manner what he regarded as the chief difficulties in the study of Wesley. The unhappy candidate hazarded the suggestion that the Latin quotations were an obstacle. "Yes," said the inquisitor, "though the difficulty is diminished by the translations provided at the foot of the page."

One of the duties of the chairman of the District—as all Wesleyans will know full well—is to visit the "solitary stations," *i.e.*, the Circuits in which there is only one minister, once a year, the occasion usually being the March Quarterly Meeting. To one country Circuit in Norfolk Dr. Moulton once went as substitute for Mr. Gould, and found himself the guest of a genial, hospitable farmer who had entertained Mr. Gould the previous year. Mr. Gould, as might be expected from a descendant of Jan Ridd, of *Lorna Doone* fame, is not altogether unacquainted with the apparatus of a farm, and had been up betimes with his host, to help him with ordinary routine duties. When Dr. Moulton came, his host, evidently thinking that manual labour would be a welcome change to one whose life was so largely spent

in the study, asked him what he would like to do in the morning, and gave him the choice of working the churn, going out with a gun, chopping firewood or riding round the farm on horseback! Dr. Moulton had to plead his utter innocence of all these accomplishments, and when next he met Mr. Gould he told him that he had always had his doubts as to his own fitness for the chairmanship, but that now he felt his unfitness to be proved to demonstration.

In his relations with the members of other Churches he always strove to promote a spirit of friendliness and co-operation; and in Cambridge his influence was largely instrumental in the formation of the Free Church Council, of which he was President, and whose meetings he attended with great regularity to the last. The passage quoted above from his Ordination Charge shows him to have been no believer in the possibility or desirability of corporate reunion, but he always held that there was a large sphere of Christian work in which the various Churches—including the Anglican—could join hands if only they were willing to do so, without in any degree sacrificing their own individuality. As early as 1872 he was in correspondence with Bishop Ellicott upon the subject, and at Archbishop Tait's request the Bishop met some of the leading Wesleyan ministers, of whom Dr. Moulton was one, at Dr. Jobson's house, in the hope that a frank interchange of opinion face to face might achieve something in the direction of "unity of the Spirit." And what he did then he continued to do throughout his life. He used his unique position with reference to Anglicans in the interests of reasonableness and concord, and it is far from being the least of his achievements that through him many members of the Anglican communion were led to form kinder and more just estimates

of Nonconformity and Nonconformists than would otherwise have been the case.

And, as a natural result, those who yearned after reunion, or at any rate co-operation, turned to him to find a willing ally. The spirit breathing through the following letter from Earl Nelson was one to which he would have eagerly responded had it not come at a period when he was peremptorily forbidden to do any public work:

"TRAFALGAR, SALISBURY, *Feb.* 15, 1896.

"DEAR DR. MOULTON,—Professor Mason has sent me your kind letter, and I beg your acceptance of our occasional paper on the Langham Street Conference. I really think it must have done some good to all of us: I know we made some real friends, and removed on both sides many misunderstandings.

"The Conference came about at the instance of Dr. Paton of Nottingham, and if you saw your way to ask for one with other leading Wesleyans I should be pleased later on to consult you as to the best men, and would do my best to get worthy and true men to meet them. We wished entirely to exclude politics, and it was treated as a *private* Conference in no way binding our different communities; but after it was over we agreed that a committee of our body should draw up for the approval of us all a short outline of our work which might be made public.

"We had every reason to believe that we should be further separated from the Congregationalists than any other Nonconformist bodies, and were agreeably surprised to find the soundness of their teaching on the fundamental doctrines. And I think at first they expected great antagonisms from the High Church views of many of our representatives, but we were all agreeably surprised; and I am sure we should attain to the same spirit of brotherly love with those who sprang from us, and never openly with desire seceded from us.

"Believe me,

"Yours very truly,

"NELSON."

To these kindly overtures he could only reply with words of sympathy:

"I greatly regret that an attack of illness, which even now compels me to write by another hand, has delayed my acknowledgment of your Lordship's kind letter and enclosure. I have read both with deep interest, and I should rejoice to be able at once to respond with some practical suggestions. Unfortunately I am under medical orders to take no part in what may be called 'public affairs' throughout the year 1896.

"I must therefore be content to stand aside for the present from a project which appeals to my warmest sympathy. I have long felt that fellowship and co-operation in the service of the one Father can only come through opportunities for mutual acquaintance amongst those who have so many more points of agreement than they themselves know; and I am, therefore, very thankful for your Lordship's effort to bring leading members of the various religious communities into friendly conference."

When invited to speak at the Church House upon Reunion, during the Lambeth Conference of 1897, as already mentioned, he dwelt upon the work of the New Testament Revision Committee as a force making for concord, quoting with eager approval Dean Vaughan's declaration that he would be disposed to give as the leading feature of the Queen's reign "the approximation of man to man, class to class, peer to peasant, Churchman to Nonconformist," to which result no small impulse was given by the work of the "Jerusalem Chamber, in which Churchmen and Nonconformists sat side by side for more than twelve years in the microscopic study of the Word of God."

To Dean Vaughan as to Dr. Moulton the tendency in

certain quarters of the Church of England towards increasing exclusiveness and narrowness of vision was a great source of grief and anxiety. Some manly outspoken words of the Dean's in Convocation to that effect elicited from Dr. Moulton a warm letter of thanks to which he replied:

"The Temple, *June* 7, 1887.

"Dear Dr. Moulton,—You little know how much your words cheer me. I am in a small minority as usual. But I do think it is the right side which protests against adding to the Shibboleths. They may call themselves expressions of truth, but they must act as fomenters of division. Each new Article makes reunion more impossible. But I need not say this to you. You feel it already and lament as I do the evident advance of the clergy of the Church of England in a direction which, though it may stop short of Rome, seems likely to take all of Rome except its one redeeming feature, an external unity. I regret that I am now so separated from that frequent intercourse with you which during the eleven years that it lasted was so cheering and so edifying.

"Ever faithfully yours,

"C. J. Vaughan."

Three years later Dr. Moulton asked the Dean to preach the sermon at the Leys School Speech Day, and his reply shows how glad he would have been to show his friendliness in this manner if his health had permitted it:

"Llandaff, *Jan.* 30, 1890.

"My dear Dr. Moulton,—I cannot tell you how much I value, or how warmly I reciprocate the kind expressions of your letter towards me. It must be quite needless for me to tell you what was the impression made upon me, in those eleven years of continued consultation, both by your infinite learning, beautiful scholarship, and even more by your unvarying courtesy and unprovokable sweetness of temper. All this I venture for once to say to you out of a full heart, by way of assuring you that I deeply

feel your present invitation, and that no slight reasons would avail with me to make me turn aside from accepting it. But—a long illness last year, and mere age (seventy-five this year if I live till August) have led me to decline all temptations to outlying and self-made exertion. Even my beloved Cambridge I have given up as a select preacher, and I confine myself to my steady-going and ordinary duties—my two churches and my little body of students. Even these are sometimes a little too much for me. I have said more than I ought perhaps to have troubled you with. But I did not like even to seem to be indifferent to a request so exceptional and so full of interest. With deep respect and regard,

"Affectionately yours,

"C. J. VAUGHAN."

At the same time as he wrote the earlier of these letters to Dean Vaughan he also wrote to Bishop Lightfoot in the hope that he might feel able and willing to use his unrivalled influence to foster more charity of judgment. The blank *non possumus* of the Bishop's reply was a keen disappointment to Dr. Moulton, and to the end of his life it was an unsolved puzzle to him by what manner of reasoning men of learning and piety argued themselves into positions which to him seemed so utterly unscriptural.

"Few subjects have been as often in my thoughts for many years past as the existence of the great gulf between the Church of England and Nonconformity. I had fondly hoped that the associations brought about by the Revision work would be productive of good in this respect, but I fear that little was accomplished in comparison with those sanguine hopes. Dean Burgon and others have seized the opportunity of emphasising the necessity of avoiding contact with Dissenters. The Disestablishment controversy has embittered the relations between the two bodies, though some, like your

lordship, have taken advantage of the time of warfare to say words of peace and healing. Canon Liddon at St. Paul's, and the Bishop of Winchester in his correspondence with Canon Wilkinson, have taken up such a position that Nonconformists are driven into a state of hostility even when peace is most eagerly desired. And lastly, the recent discussions in the Lower House of Convocation have struck a blow the effect of which can hardly be exaggerated. All this of course is familiar to your Lordship, and if I venture to refer to these circumstances it is only to ask whether it may be possible to do something to counteract these evil influences. I have very limited sympathy with several of the movements of our time. Though a strong Liberal I have no bond of union or agreement in opinion with the party of Disestablishment. This fact makes it easier for me to plead that even their offence is not unpardonable, as in very many cases there is no real unfriendliness towards the Church of England. I dread such efforts as those of —— through which some approach to union might be gained, but at the cost of much truth that we hold most dear. I do not desire interchange of pulpits, or indeed anything of the nature of formal union, until indeed the external union has become the natural expression of an internal oneness. But every day the boldness of the enemies of Christianity is growing; it is daily asserted with increasing emphasis that modern thought is separating itself from the most sacred Christian dogmas; and yet those to whom the one faith in the one Lord should be a bond of union in His service are being more and more widely severed. Will you forgive me if I say that I have looked to your Lordship more than to any other man to bring together those thus forced apart? There is no one to whom Nonconformists would listen as they will to your Lordship. I can imagine that there may be difficulties in the way of the

friendly utterances I have ventured to suggest. But possibly an appeal from one in the Nonconformist ranks may furnish an occasion such as your Lordship might desire."

Bishop Lightfoot replied as follows:

"It was a great comfort and satisfaction to me to receive your letter, though its tone and purport are all that I should have expected from you. I do not know how any overt act can be taken. But we can at all events cherish kindly feelings which will find expression in corresponding words, and look forward in hope to the time when we may be one outwardly again. Between yourselves and ourselves there is, so far as I know, only the question of Church order which keeps us apart, and yet even I, whose views are supposed to be very broad on this point, could not see my way to waiving this for the sake of reunion. But even if reunion is impossible (though why it should be I know not) friendly appreciation and sympathy remain. These at least we may cherish till God in His good time shall draw us together."

The same thoughts find expression in a letter which he writes to another one of the Bishops in his Presidential year, and in which he protests against the unjust estimates so often formed by Churchmen concerning Nonconformists:

"I feel constrained to write on a subject which is rarely absent from my thought and which causes me the greatest uneasiness and distress. I have marked the letter 'Private,' partly because the official position which I hold is not concerned: I am but writing as a private individual to one whom I have learned to trust and love: and partly because I do not ask for any reply unless the way is perfectly open. I know the peculiar difficulties of a Bishop's position. I can never doubt that your Lordship is unable to know of a serious evil without striving at least to diminish it.

"In many parts—especially rural districts—of England

Wesleyan Methodists are being forced into a position of direct antagonism to the Church of England: and I cannot see how any effort *on our side* can prevent this. Your Lordship has probably seen Mr. Gace's Catechisms, in regard to which a question was asked in the House of Commons a few weeks since. These, I am assured, are used in a large number of schools.* Children who are taught these Catechisms learn that to join with Dissenters in worship is a sin—that no Dissenter can be a holy man—that those Dissenters who come nearest to the Church are the most dangerous. There are many villages where, at present, children are compelled to attend the Church day-school, and I need say nothing as to the war waged against Dissent in these places where such teaching is given. Bishops—I have in thought especially the Bishop of Carlisle † and the late Archbishop of York (Dr. Magee)—have written or spoken very strong and bitter words in regard to assaults made by Liberationist Dissenters on the Church of England; but surely no attack by Liberationists can be more uncompromising and more bitter than that made upon Nonconformists in Gace's Catechisms and (I believe) others of the same kind. I am no Liberationist myself, but I feel deeply the injustice done to Nonconformists by those who have seemed to hold that all the hostility is on one side. I do not know that the two Bishops whose names I have mentioned gave any sanction to Mr. Gace's works; but I know certainly that several Bishops have had their attention called to the Catechisms, and yet (as far as I know) they have not been publicly condemned. But after all, these

* Dr. Moulton was perfectly aware that the copies would not be found in the possession of the children, but the questions and answers taught by the teacher were from Gace. Had he written three years later when he had read "A Book for the Children of God," his indignation would have been hotter still.

† Dr. Harvey Goodwin.

Catechisms are but an index of teaching which is rife, and which drives us into hostility.

"Your Lordship will trust me when I disclaim entirely any spirit of ecclesiastical jealousy or rivalry when I write thus. For myself I could thankfully retire in this place or that before another branch of the Christian Church were I able to believe that duty and truth and the salvation of men would not be compromised. But we Nonconformists can see no essential difference between many extreme Anglicans and Roman Catholics. We cannot rid ourselves of the conviction that we are able to discern the true doctrinal standpoint of the Church of England, and that whatever serious differences may divide us from the Church of England, we are immeasurably nearer to it in reality than these High Anglicans. And yet we are (to a continually increasing extent) treated as if our doctrinal agreement with the Church of England were as nothing, as if the proscription of Nonconformists were a sacred duty.

"Your Lordship will not for a moment misapprehend me. I do not forget your own cordial words and actions in your diocese, but it is not of any words or action on your Lordship's part that I have been for a single moment complaining. Indeed, complaint is far less in my thought than the wish to avert a disaster. I venture to write as I am doing because I know that the truth and love and kingdom of Christ are with you supreme in all thought and all aims. I cannot see my companions drifting against their will into strife and war, without trying to put our difficulties before one whose desire is to find a remedy for all the great evils of our day.

"We are not understood. It has not been our wish to be foes of the Church of England. We do indeed hold ourselves bound to oppose with all our power the characteristic doctrines of extreme Anglicanism, as tending to hinder the

faith of Christ, but we very thankfully recognise and bear witness to the devotion and unwearied labours of many of the very clergy whose teaching we deplore.

"I have throughout been speaking of Wesleyan Methodism, but most of those who are known as Evangelical Nonconformists would say very nearly what I have said."

The last sentence of this letter contains the reason why so much has been said about Dr. Moulton's relations with the Church of England. In his letters to these Bishops he voiced a great body of opinion in the Evangelical Free Churches, but he was one of the few within whose power it lay to bring this body of opinion under the notice of those in authority in matters ecclesiastical, and moreover to do it without in any way assuming the *rôle* of the spokesman of a hostile and militant party. Others, agreeing with him in his indignation at the existing state of things and the ecclesiastical theories that are rife, might prefer a more aggressive policy and consequently find themselves more in their element amid the excitement of public meetings, of crowds roused to enthusiasm or indignation by the eloquence or invective of the orator. For work of that sort Dr. Moulton had no fitness and certainly no partiality. He left that to other men who felt called to it, and himself pursued a quieter and less public course. It is not a matter of concern here which is the better means of attaining the common end. It is sufficient that Dr. Moulton took one course and could not be imagined taking the other.

One point more and one only need be noticed in this connection. Dr. Moulton's breadth of view and judgment in these matters was very far from being infected with latitudinarianism, and his firm and unhesitating allegiance to the truths of revealed religion fixed a limit beyond which he

refused to go in the direction of concession. Writing in reply to a request on behalf of the executive of the "Christian Conference" that he would preside at a public meeting, he said:

"I have long been intending to write to you on the subject of the Union, but in a busy life, such as mine has been, especially of late, intentions are very slow in becoming anything more substantial. You may remember how warmly I welcomed the proposal contained in the letter you wrote me two years ago. All that I then felt and expressed I still feel. Indeed, I long more and more for new and more powerful means of manifesting the essential oneness of Christians of different Churches.

"But there are differences which seem to me sufficient to make even such a union as your admirable scheme sets forth almost impossible. I know well that the word 'Unitarianism' includes a multitude of varying shades of doctrine, and that the theological opinions of many noble men would be described by this name. In the case of not a few of these, the difference of view which separates them from Trinitarians might be little more than a philosophical distinction; but the position of many others is so extreme that I do not see how it is possible to unite with them in 'Christian Conferences' without unfaithfulness to my deepest convictions in regard to Christian truth.

"I fear that I am writing words which will cause disappointment to one for whom I have cherished the strongest feelings of respect, and with whose motives in the promotion of these Conferences I sympathise with all my heart. In the first instance I wrote impulsively, eagerly accepting what seemed to me a very wise scheme for the establishment of open Christian fellowship. It is to me a sad disappointment that I must draw back."

A department of public work with which in his later years he was very closely identified and to which he gave much time and thought, was the Royal Holloway College at Egham. The founder had expressly laid down that the College was to be unsectarian, but for several years all the Governors were Churchmen, and the tone of the College had become such that it was feared that it would lose the confidence of the Nonconformists of the country, as well as violate the condition of its own foundation deed. To avert this danger it was arranged that three Nonconformist Governors should be added to the Board, one of whom was Dr. Moulton, and he was unwearying in his devotion to the interests of the College.

It was his firm conviction that the intention of Mr. Holloway would not be carried out unless there were arrangements made for the holding of Nonconformist services side by side with those of the Church of England. The history of the struggle to win this concession is not public property, and probably never will be, but—the Nonconformist services now take place. But, it may be asked, at what cost was the acquisition made? What animosities were incurred and how much bitterness generated? One sentence from a letter from Lord Thring—Dr. Moulton's supporter in this just contention, although a strong Churchman—will answer this question:

"As a Governor of Holloway College I cannot too strongly insist on the loss we have sustained by his death. His wide Christian sympathies, his absolute freedom from bitterness and prejudice, made us all respect his opinion, and smoothed over difficulties which necessarily occur in the transaction of business conducted by a committee composed of men holding a variety of opinions."

And a letter from Prince Christian, the chairman of the Board, spoke of him in similar terms. It was a great achieve-

ment to win his point; but to win it from men naturally predisposed against his contention, and to win it without even a momentary loss of their friendship and esteem, was an achievement to which few men could have attained.

In party politics Dr. Moulton never took any part. This was by no means because he had no convictions. Right through life he was an enthusiastic Gladstonian, and the Home Rule proposals not only did not cause him to stumble, but commended themselves to his sense of justice. To all who knew him personally his opinions were no secret whatever, and he uniformly voted Liberal in the elections for the Borough of Cambridge. But he was never known to take any public part in politics, partly on the ground that a minister who gets drawn into political warfare runs a great risk of having the fine edge worn off his ministrations; and partly because—especially in Methodism—the minister who identifies himself in a militant manner with one party is certain to alienate a proportionately great number belonging to the other party, and thereby seriously to impair his usefulness. Even when other ministers, who were opposed to Home Rule, declared that the question was one of religion, and therefore one upon which the ministry might and should speak, he refused to be drawn into controversy, and so far as anything public was concerned he held his peace.

But he could not bring himself to respect the sophistry that the Temperance question is merely a matter of party politics. To him the moral interests at stake were too great for him to regard it as such, and after being a passive abstainer for the great majority of his life he threw himself into the advocacy of total abstinence with all his characteristic enthusiasm during the closing years. In this sphere, as in that of Christian Reunion, he owed his influence to his moderation

and gentleness of spirit, which constituted him a thoroughly "safe" man to follow. In addition to being moderate he was practical, and was eagerly on the look out for some reform that could be achieved, even if it were only partial in its extent. Had he lived to see Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell's book, he would have cordially endorsed their opinion that the Temperance party had too long "wandered in the wilderness of ineffectual protest," owing to its unwillingness to accept half measures. Consequently, when the Rev. H. B. Workman, who had been for some time in consultation upon the matter with the Bishop of Chester, wrote to him concerning possible Temperance legislation upon which all could agree, he gladly fell in with the project. Writing to Mr. Workman on March 22, 1895, he says:

"I am heart and soul a Liberal; but I endorse every word you use as to the vital importance of dragging Temperance Reform out of the mass of party questions as soon as possible. We are lowering the tone of Temperance friends who are Conservatives by placing in their way political temptations. When I say 'we,' I am not blaming Liberals for accepting the great boon offered; but I long for a healthier condition of things. From what I have said you will be able to answer freely for me as to what I think and what I am ready to do. I hold myself in readiness to do 'the next thing,' whatever that may be, in carrying out the wise plan sketched in your letter."

One who felt as he did with reference to Christian Reunion could not but rejoice at the suggestion—of Bishop Jayne, I believe—that a private Conference should be summoned, representative of men of all schools, to see how far those schools would go together in the direction of Temperance legislation. Even if such a Conference should achieve little

in the matter immediately in hand, he believed that nothing but good could result from the mere association of its members for a common end. He felt that, as things were, statesmen would refuse to act because Temperance people were so divided amongst themselves, while unofficial persons would be led, for the same reason, to regard the question as purely academic. A definite pronouncement by some such Round Table Conference would carry much weight, however limited might be the sphere with which the pronouncement was concerned. It was no small cause of satisfaction to him that the idea commended itself strongly to Bishop Westcott, who wrote:

"There are many things on which we are all agreed as good, if not best, and the ruin of Temperance work has been its intolerance."

Writing to Mr. Workman on September 17, Dr. Moulton said:

"It is, I think, very important to show plainly that every one is left at liberty to prefer his own matured plan of ultimate action on behalf of Temperance Reform: whatever he may assent to in the Conference, he accepts without prejudice to other measures of which he has, as an individual, approved. Many who themselves desire the success of such a Bill as was brought forward by the late Government, will gladly do all in their power to induce the Churches to agree on measures of partial reform."

The whole enterprise was so entirely the result of the private endeavours of a few individuals that their names could not fail to be much in evidence in the matter. To Dr. Moulton personally this was a source of uneasiness: he was afraid of being thought to be pushing to the front, and

occupying too prominent a place; and, moreover, he felt the necessity of guarding against the possible suspicion, among those outside, that a small clique had "cooked" the programme —to use his own words from a letter to Mr. Workman in August:

"It seems to me impossible to think of entering on the general meeting without some kind of suggested programme. We can completely guard against the suspicion of having 'cooked,' but we cannot do anything without some arrangement beforehand. I should face the difficulty boldly: (1) let some seven or eight sign the invitations; (2) let these form themselves into a committee for the sole purpose of preparing for the Conference; (3) let these draw up a (tentative) programme, or, if desirable, two alternative programmes, and send this (or these) round to all who have accepted the invitation to meet on November 6, asking for suggestions that may guide in framing the ultimate programme. This will prevent the very least appearance of 'cooking,' all having seen and having had an opportunity of adding and subtracting. . . . I do not see how any one can suspect undue influence beforehand, as, from the nature of the case, we are to meet in Conference in November, not in favour of any one course of policy, but to ascertain by comparison of opinions what amount of combined action it may seem possible to aim at."

In order to give the Conference as much of a broad representative character as was possible, it was determined that certain leading men—the Bishop of Chester for the Church of England, Dr. Mackennal and Dr. Clifford for the Congregationalists and Baptists, and Dr. Moulton for the Wesleyans—should sound members of their own Churches and others as to their willingness to co-operate, and that a

preliminary meeting should be held in Manchester early in October to draft the circular of invitation and the programme for the Conference. The letters received in reply to these inquiries were cordial in their sympathy, but they can find no place here—with one exception :

"*Oct.* 2, 1895.

"My dear Sir,—Rev. Dr. Paton of Nottingham had already written to me inviting my co-operation at the proposed Conference at London House on November 6. I heartily welcomed the attempt to secure some line of common action, and assured him accordingly of my willingness to attend.

"I ventured at the same time to express the hope that the different Churches, in taking the initiative, would not forget the equal moral interest in Temperance Reform felt by large numbers of good citizens who stand out of all ecclesiastical connection. The movement should not, I think, be thrown into a form which seems to decline instead of inviting their sympathy. We need for our Reform the collective moral enthusiasm of the national conscience; and must beware of seeming to claim for ourselves as ecclesiastical organisations a monopoly of righteousness.

"On this account I should gladly have seen, on the list of conveners, a name or two representative only of personal character. But at all events, in the ulterior invitation of fellowship in action, I trust that good citizenship alone, apart from churchmanship, will be remembered.

"I remain, dear sir,

"Yours very truly,

"Rev. Dr. Moulton." "James Martineau."

The preliminary meeting was held at the Central Hall, Manchester, on October 8. There were present the Bishops of Chester and Manchester, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. John Watson, Archdeacon Wilson, Dr. H. J. Pope, Rev. Charles Garrett, Dr. Moulton, and Mr. Workman. The Bishop of London (Dr. Temple) placed London House at the disposal of the Conference, and November 6 was finally agreed upon as the

date. The invitation circular which had been drafted by Dr. Moulton was approved, and went forth bearing the signatures of the Bishops of Durham and Chester, Dr. Clifford, Dr. Mackennal, Dr. Martineau, Dr. Moulton, Mr. James Paton (Church of Scotland), and Dr. George Adam Smith.

As to the Conference itself, there is no reason, even at this distance of time, to invade the "private and confidential" character of the meeting upon which so much stress was laid at the time. There was nothing strikingly novel in the resolutions moved. Temperance reform was to move on the lines of least resistance; and Sunday Closing was to be the first plank in the platform. What was novel was the spectacle of Cardinal Vaughan, Dr. Donald Macleod and Mr. Hugh Price Hughes speaking to the same motion under the presidency of the Bishop of London. The result of a gathering such as this must have been solid good: possibly the good might have been greater if Dr. Moulton had been able to be present, since he, possessing as he did the confidence of all parties in the Conference, could have done much towards carrying its results to a practical issue. But this was not to be.

CHAPTER VIII

CLOSING YEARS

Dr. Moulton's participation in the project to which he was so devoted came to a close at Manchester. He had travelled up from Cambridge in the morning of Tuesday, October 8: on his arrival in Manchester he went straight to a consultation with the Bishop of Chester, without taking any food. Directly the meeting was over he snatched a hurried meal and took the six o'clock train to London. He was taken ill at Crewe, where he found himself unable to speak clearly; and he travelled on, with an increasing sense of something wrong, to the St. Pancras Hotel, where he had engaged a room previously, in view of several engagements in London for the next day. But, thinking that rest was what he chiefly needed, he did not send for a doctor, but retired at once. Sleep, however, did not come, and feeling very ill he sent at about three o'clock a note to his friend Dr. Howard Barrett, who lived within a short distance of the hotel, and he came at once. He found that a small blood-vessel had burst in the vicinity of the brain, and that, although his speech was partially impaired, there was no immediate danger, provided he was kept absolutely free from anything that could excite him. Dr. Barrett telegraphed to Mrs. Moulton to come up, and we found him just like himself except for weakness and a difficulty in

articulation. One of his first remarks was characteristic of the prevailing cheerfulness of his disposition, even in times of sickness. "I was talking Temperance on Monday night [at a large meeting in Cambridge], I was talking Temperance all yesterday; and here I am to-day talking like a drunken man!"

For a week he lay at the St. Pancras Hotel, until he was well enough to be moved to Cambridge, whence, after a short time, he went to Herne Bay that he might recruit his strength in that invigorating air. Little by little he returned to his accustomed tasks. In the middle of January he was well enough to attend the Annual Old Leysian Conversazione at the Hôtel Métropole, and during the School term which opened on the following day he gradually took up the less exacting of his varied kinds of work. He never preached to the School again, for his doctor feared the strain for him, and with two or three exceptions he preached nowhere else either, but the quieter work of teaching he could manage and enjoy. In 1893 he had been appointed a Magistrate for the Borough of Cambridge—an unusual position for a Nonconformist minister to occupy—and he soon resumed his seat on the bench each Wednesday morning. Within a few months of his illness he was again at his place at Holloway: reference has already been made to his speech at the Church House during the Lambeth Conference of July 1897; and when later in that year a personal friend and a member of his own Church—Mr. S. R. Ginn—became Mayor of Cambridge, he yielded to an earnest request that he should be his Chaplain, and when the Mayor and Corporation attended the Hills' Road Chapel officially, he preached the sermon, upon Psalm lxxxvii. Finally, on January 12, 1898, he presided at the morning meeting of the Free Church Council "Quiet Day" and gave an exposition.

But although he had so wonderfully rallied from a serious illness, and although he had in some respects moderated his activity, it is easy to see now that he was overtaxing his strength. Owing to the financial embarrassments of the School, he was often pressed to economise by a reduction of the teaching staff. Rightly or wrongly, he did not see his way to accomplish this except to a very partial extent, and even this necessitated a choice between receding from his principles on the one hand, and taking more upon himself on the other. He chose the latter; and thus, at a time when increasing years, weaker health, and the greater claims of the Churches all made greater freedom desirable, and indeed essential, to his well-being, he was more than ever harassed by petty cares and routine business. There could be but one end to such a life of stress.

The end, when it did come, came with great suddenness. On the Wednesday of what proved his last week of life, he had officiated at the marriage of an Old Leysian, Mr. G. W. McArthur; and on Thursday he had spoken at a meeting at the Hôtel Métropole in connection with the effort that the Governors of the School were making to lighten the burden of the debt which had so long hampered its operations.* Among other speakers were Mr. Asquith and the Attorney-General (Sir Richard Webster), Mr. A. J. Balfour being prevented by a family bereavement from fulfilling his promise to be present also. The meeting was a pronounced success, and Dr. Moulton came away more hopeful than he had been for years as to the financial position of the School. On that evening he met many Old Leysians, and that was to him not only a pleasure, but a positive tonic. How little did he

* Since that time the major portion—£30,000—of the debt has been wiped out. What better memorial could be raised to him! It must be explained that the debt was due to the entire absence of endowment, no money being provided in the first instance except for the purchase of the land.

and they imagine that this would be their last opportunity of intercourse on earth, and that it would not be his to see the final outcome of the enterprise concerning which they were met together.

There was nothing in his outward demeanour or in the state of his health which gave the slightest warning that the end was near. All who came in contact with him during those last few days of his life regarded him as being singularly well, and on the Saturday morning—during which he had four classes on his hands, owing to the absence of two members of his staff—many noted a degree of brightness unusual even in him. It was a last flicker, bright and strong, ere the candle went right out. Whether he himself had any premonition as to the future it is impossible to say, for his exquisite consideration for those whom he knew to be watching him with constant solicitude prevented any allusion to such possibilities. There is no doubt that he felt the change which had come over him in consequence of the first slight stroke, a change which was manifested, among other things, in a diminished power to keep several matters in hand at the same time; and he would know the tendency to repetition in such disturbances, the second being frequently fatal. There certainly were utterances on his part which seem to suggest a special sense of uncertainty as to the future. When his sister made a reference to plans for the summer, he replied, "I never make plans now." Only three hours before his death he had gone through a list of the New Testament Revisers, and, after reading an announcement of the death of Dr. Newth, had remarked to his wife, "There are only six of us left now," receiving the natural reply that of these he was by far the youngest. That same day he had used the phrase, "When I leave The Leys"—a most unusual expression from his lips. After his death there was found in

his purse a newspaper cutting containing the following lines from Whittier,* which had evidently captivated him, and which are indeed a beautiful expression of his spirit:

"Others shall sing the song,
Others shall right the wrong,
Finish what I begin,
And all I fail of win.

"What matter I or they,
Mine or another's day,
So the right word is said
And life the brighter made?

"Hail to the coming singers!
Hail to the brave light-bringers!
Forward I reach, and share
All that they sing and dare.

. . . .

"I feel the earth move sunward,
I join the great march onward,
And take by faith, while living,
My freehold of thanksgiving."

In apparently good health, bright and cheerful, he walked out early in the afternoon of Saturday, February 5, to Newnham, to visit one of his assistant masters, Mr. G. E. Green, who had been for some time ill. Mr. Green was, unfortunately, too unwell to see him, but he stayed talking for half an hour to his brother, Professor J. R. Green, and Miss Green, and to them he seemed to be thoroughly himself. On leaving the house he promised that when the patient was well enough to return to his work at The Leys he would send a cab for him, lest he should try his strength too much by walking. These were his last words on earth, and they

* From "My Triumph."

were words of consideration for others. On his way back he was seen in Sidgwick Avenue, walking firmly, although the end was so near. He crossed the portion of Coe Fen that lies between Newnham Mill and the footbridge over the upper river just behind The Leys, but *that* river he did not cross. As he climbed the steps of the bridge he was seen to falter, to grasp the rail for support, and to sit down upon one of the topmost steps, as one might who was wearied with a long walk. And so indeed, in another sense, it was. The gardener of Clare College seeing him there, and thinking that he was only exhausted and faint, offered to help him into the cottage which stands at the foot of the bridge,* to which he softly replied, "No, th—— . . ." Unconsciousness seems to have supervened immediately on the loss of speech.

At the moment, a London physician, Dr. Arthur Davies, happened to pass; and recognising with the quick insight of a skilled observer the extreme gravity of the case, he had Dr. Moulton removed to the cottage, where a kindly woman assisted the unknown doctor in rendering all the service which the loving care of friends would fain have given. The tidings of his illness speedily reached The Leys, and some of his family and others were quickly on the spot, but only to find life ebbing peacefully away, in total unconsciousness of the "sadness of farewell." When his own medical attendants, Professor Clifford Allbutt and Dr. A. C. Ingle, arrived, he had already, within less than half an hour from the time of the seizure, passed beyond the reach of human skill.

The funeral at Cambridge, on February 9, was the occasion of a beautiful expression of the feelings of the esteem and affection with which he was regarded on all sides. The

* Upon this cottage may be seen a memorial tablet, placed there by the Free Church Council of Cambridge, and bearing an inscription written by Dr. Rendel Harris.

leaders of his own Church, his Old Boys, the University beside which he had lived so long, the Corporation of the Town to which he had been Chaplain, the Bench of Magistrates of which he had been a member, and numerous Councils and Boards of Governors—all were fully represented, and the School Hall was filled to overflowing. Every feature of the service was determined with exclusive reference to his known preferences, even down to the point of the introductory voluntary—Batiste's Andante in E Minor, of which he was very fond.

The service was conducted by the President of Queens' College, Professor Ryle. After the opening sentences, Charles Wesley's hymn, "Jesus the first and last," was sung to Dr. Moulton's own tune. There then followed the reading of Psalm xc. in alternate verses, and the Lesson —both from the Revised Version—after which Dr. Ryle gave an address which took the form of an appreciation of Dr. Moulton from the standpoint of the University:

"In deference to a request from those whose wishes at such a time I could not disregard, I wish to say a few, a very few, words. We whose work lies in this University, we whose home is in this town, ever rejoiced to regard our dear friend who has been taken from us, with honour, with admiration, and with deep affection. He prosecuted the work of this great school with untiring assiduity at the doors of our University. That University he loved, and he warmly supported every endeavour for the deepening of its influence and for the extension of its studies. He was privileged to be the intimate friend, the sympathetic fellow worker, of those three great men whose names will ever be associated with the fame of Biblical study in Cambridge during the latter part of this century. We know that Dr. Moulton was worthy, both in attainments and scholarship, in his genius for accuracy and in his zeal for knowledge, in the pure simplicity of his life, in the perfect modesty and earnestness of his character, in the godly devotion and true saintliness of his mind, to take rank among the greatest

scholars in the British Isles whose lives have been nobly given to the study of Holy Scripture. We shall ever associate his name with those of his dear friends with whom he is in Christ now reunited. To the names of Lightfoot and Hort and Milligan we add now the name of Moulton. But one word more. He in his life here ever sought to promote goodwill, to remove any shadow of misunderstanding, to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. That was the fair and noble object towards which he consistently directed his best efforts. To him belongs the Saviour's benediction on the peacemakers: 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God.' The memory of his life and of his work should constrain us who remain behind to labour yet more abundantly, following his example, and to exercise ourselves more truly in the pure love and charity with which he served his Master in heaven."

Another of his favourite hymns was then sung—"He is gone! beyond the skies"—written by his intimate friend the late Dean Stanley—after which an address was given by the Rev. Marshall Hartley, the Secretary of the Wesleyan Conference and a close friend of many years:

"I would far rather stand silent in the temple of sorrow to-day than attempt by poor words to pay a last tribute to my friend. But those whose wish at such a time is sacred have asked this at my hand, and at least I may claim what fitness for the task may be found in a reverent love, thirty years old, for the pure, the modest, the learned, the devout man whose loss we mourn to-day. If my words be few it is not because they might not easily be many, but because I know that is what he would wish. Himself ever most generous in his estimation of others, and unstinting in his recognition of their worth, he did not covet personal praise, and would far rather commend another than be himself commended.

"I do not pretend to be an impartial witness to-day. Too many memories crowd my heart for that—too deep a sense of what I personally owe to Dr. Moulton. I cannot attempt to estimate

the great career now closed, so far as this poor world is concerned; you will be content with a few grateful words of love.

"My own intimacy with Dr. Moulton has been coeval with my ministry. My first appointment was as his assistant at Richmond College, and through all my subsequent life I have felt the value of that early association. From him I learned the sacredness of duty as well as the fascination of study; in him I saw the beauty of holiness as well as the charm of a most delightful character. The circumstances of the time, both in his honourable public position as one of the New Testament Revisers, and in some particulars of his family life, combined to make his then assistant perhaps more to him than is usually the case in that relation, and at times I was all but an inmate of his home. And it was then, as it was to the end, in his home that the beauty of his character was most conspicuous. With what tender grace, what true courtesy, he treated all around him; how perfect was his temper, how joyous his spirit, how delightful and helpful his conversation! In him was no 'sour godliness, repellent pharisaism;' 'wit and humour and becoming mirth' characterised his intercourse with his friends, and, whilst always dignified, he was never unapproachable.

"He was a man of beautiful and winning life as well as a thinker of wide range and genuine culture; a most sympathetic and tender-hearted friend, as well as a brilliant scholar and courteous gentleman; and few, probably, had any idea of the infinite trouble he habitually took to help all who sought his advice or assistance in their studies or their life-work, or of the number of those whom, in their poverty or their perplexity, he regularly cared for and relieved. He was indeed 'a succourer of many,' and his principle in such matters seems to have been 'Do as much good in the world as you can, and make as little noise about it as you can.' No one could be admitted to Dr. Moulton's friendship without being in every way the better for it—better for his suggestive thought, for the stimulating intensity and force of his intellect, his wide culture, his acquaintance with the libraries of the rich and immortal past, and no less with all that is best in the literature of our own day—better, too, for his healthy tone, his lofty spirit, his deep and firm godliness. From first to last he was

guided by an inner light which never led him astray, and he was such a man as the Master must have loved and loves still.

"Dr. Moulton was a 'simple' man, in the lovely original meaning of that word. That is to say, he was not complex, not difficult to understand, a man whose 'eyes looked right on and his eyelids straight before him,'—a man of pure purpose, plain meaning, quietly calm, content within limitation, placid under difficulties, —simple in the godly meaning which puts a man under the shelter of the Almighty, enjoying the 'peace which passeth understanding,' the peace of the Son of God.

"His influence over young men, during the happy days he spent in training them, was very marked and remarkable. In the hundreds that passed through his classes and were afterwards scattered over the wide reaches of the Church's service—not one of whom, by the way, so marvellous was his memory, he ever seemed to forget—his 'sound' is literally 'gone out into all the earth, and his words unto the end of the world.' Verily his 'works do follow' him in the records of many a completed life, in the service of many who still survive, and will follow him long, in the great influence which for more than twenty years he has asserted over the youth of this and other lands on the very spot where we are assembled now.

"Dr. Moulton was at all times a prodigious worker. How he got through all he did was a standing amazement to his friends, and some of us have often envied his rare powers in this respect. This is not the time or the place to speak in detail of the results of his ceaseless activity—of his scholarly achievements, his brilliant abilities, or of the services he rendered to society at large, and especially to the Church of his fathers and of his choice. But a passing reference may well be made to his remarkable catholicity, to which, indeed, this service is in a sense itself a tribute. He spent much of his life in true reunion work, seeking to promote that Christian unity which rather depends upon the person of the Shepherd and the nature of the sheep than upon the mere construction of the fold. He cherished a deep and most catholic sympathy with all good men, and with the splendid work done by other Christian Churches than his own, and yet at the same time his attachment to his own was peculiarly strong. Its

doctrines, its services, its customs, its hymns were all very dear to him.

"We mourn to-day a foremost man of the Methodist Church, a man of wide Christian sympathies as well as of deep convictions, who, when elected President of our Conference a few years ago, quickly endeared himself to the masses of our people, as he was already endeared to the privileged few; whose name will long be held in all dear remembrance amongst us, and who will live in many hearts though he is now withdrawn from our eyes by the impenetrable light of eternity. I reverently bless God for the gift of such a man and such a friend. Without pride, without envy, without selfishness, moved by the noblest ambitions, responsive ever to the touch of God, William Fiddian Moulton has fulfilled well his course and is now with Christ. Those who feel this blow most keenly will be—nay, are—supported by the true sympathy, the earnest prayers of a sorrowing people round them, and by the upholding strength of the 'everlasting arms.' Happy they who, even in their grief, are consoled by memories such as cluster thickly around the name of Dr. Moulton, by blessed hopes, by the precious promises of God.

"In the circumstances of the death we cannot but acknowledge much mercy. It is a bright cloud that has received him. No suffering, no sadness of farewell, no lingering helpless decay, but busy to the last, and then a sudden transition to where there is a nobler and better work to do! And having walked humbly with the Master all his life, he would feel no shrinking when at its close that Master 'appeared in another form' unto him as he 'walked and went into the country.'"

At the conclusion of Mr. Hartley's address, another hymn, already referred to as a great favourite with Dr. Moulton, was sung—"O Thou who camest from above"—and the Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, of the Bermondsey Settlement, concluded the service with prayer. The scene afterwards in the grounds was singularly impressive. The large quadrangle was lined with The Leys boys, and the procession

which followed the mourners to the Histon Road Cemetery was upwards of half a mile in length, and included the Mayor and Corporation, a large number of Heads of Colleges, University Professors and others, past and present Leys Masters, a strong contingent of Old Leysians from all parts of the country, the School itself, and many private friends. The service at the grave was conducted by the Rev. John Gould, the Chairman of the East Anglia District, and a valued friend of the family.

To attempt to record the many and beautiful appreciations—whether in public press and pulpit or in private letters—which came literally from all parts of the world and from all sorts and conditions of men, would be to overweight this volume with sad regrets for a widespread loss, or with thankful reminiscences of those very gifts and graces which have here been portrayed. With one of these, as perhaps summing up the thoughts of them all, this memoir may fitly close.

MANIBUS DATE LILIA PLENIS.*

"Dear and true friend, so swiftly called away,
As weeping round thy open grave we stand,
The last sad unavailing rite we pay,
And scatter lilies with a trembling hand.

"Ashes to ashes, dust again to dust—
Yet while our heart with utter grief is torn,
We see more clear, with sure and certain trust
The breaking of the Resurrection morn.

* Written by Mr. E. E. Kellett, M.A., Assistant Master at The Leys, for the Memorial number of the School magazine.

"Dear to thee was the place where year by year
Thy work was wrought, thy noiseless path was trod;
Yet was one mansion to thy heart more dear,
Nor will we grudge thee to that home of God.

"For, though thy labours in this vale are done,
There shall thy holy service know no rest;
Nor, while the everlasting æons run,
Shall cease thy eager striving for the best.

"The language of that other starry sphere
Will sound not in thy ears with foreign tone;
For thou hadst caught its tender accents here,
And made, 'in part,' its mysteries thy own.

"Nigh all the deep and unexhausted store
Of human knowledge, new and old, was thine;
But thou hadst learned a deeper, holier lore—
The secret of the blessed life divine.

"Nor, surely, hast thou taught us all in vain
The lesson of our common brotherhood;
The art to sink the self, the scorn of gain,
The skill to draw to light the hidden good.

"Who ever from that gracious presence came
But raised in hope, in faith more pure and strong,
Stirred strangely to a higher, nobler aim,
Or wooed, he knew not how, from all things wrong?

"Serenely trustful in the might of good,
The baser rule of force thou didst disdain;
Oft was the bad betrayed to better mood,
Oft the despairing drawn to hope again.

"Ah! we must rise again our path to tread,
Aidless, alone, and smitten through the heart;
The present dark, the future full of dread—
Yet shall we dare to choose the better part:

"Like thee to do our duty day by day,
To follow good, unheedful of reward;
Like thee unceasingly to work and pray,
And stand unshamed, at last, before our Lord."

. . . .

In City Road Chapel, London, side by side with that of Dr. Punshon, stands a fine bust of Dr. Moulton, by Mr. Adams Acton, which was the gift of his brother ministers, unveiled on July 7, 1899, by Sir Henry H. Fowler. Above is the appropriate quotation (James iii. 13):

ΕΝ ΠΡΑΥΤΗΤΙ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ.

Beneath, an inscription from the pen of Professor Findlay, after reciting his various distinctions, proceeds:

"Beloved amongst his own people, honoured throughout the Churches; a scholar keen, exact, accomplished, eminently versed in sacred Scripture; a teacher who inspired love of learning and love of all goodness; a minister of Christ, humble, faithful, gentle towards all, fervent in spirit, pure in heart, constant in labour and prayer, an example to the flock, a good steward of the manifold grace of God.

"By a swift and painless transition he passed into the Eternal Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

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